

VESPUCCI REPRINTS, TEXTS AND STUDIES

IV

The Soderini Letter
in Translation



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The Vespucci reprints, texts and studies had their origin in the gift to the Princeton University Library by Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick '79, of Chicago, of eight tracts relating to Vespucci, purchased from the Hoe library.

Mr. McCormick's attention was called to the fact that the Vespucci problem is one useful to set for university students who are being trained for research in American History, and that for this purpose the main need is for reliable copies of actual documents, originals being scarce and facsimiles not generally accessible. On this representation the Library administration was authorized to publish any of his gifts in facsimile and to add to them such other basic documents as might be useful and obtainable, forming a convenient uniform series of documents for teaching or research in unpretentious form for practical use.

The following numbers have been published or are in press:

2. The Soderini letter, 1504; facsimile.
3. The Soderini letter, Florence manuscript; facsimile.
4. The Soderini letter, Critical translation with introduction by Professor G. T. Northup of University of Toronto.
5. The Mundus Novus or Medici letter translated by Professor G. T. Northup.
6. The Paesi novamente ritrovati 1508; facsimile.
7. The Sensuyt le nouveau monde, 1515; facsimile.

Provision has also been made for publication at an early date of other items as follows:

The Mundus Novus or Medici letter, facsimiles of all editions of the Latin text which can be had for reproduction, together with a critical bibliographical study of these editions by George Parker Winship, Librarian of the Widener Library of Harvard University.

The Von der new gefunden Region.

The Latin version of the Soderini letter, etc.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI LETTER TO PIERO SODERINI,

Gonfaloniere. The year 1504

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By

GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP

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PREFACE

The translator wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Dr. Ernest C. Richardson, Librarian of Princeton University Library, for much kindly assistance proffered in the course of the preparation of this work. To Dr. T. A. Moseley of the same university he wishes to extend thanks for much valuable advice with regard to Old Italian forms. Neither of these gentlemen is responsible for whatever errors may be found in the following pages.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI LETTER TO PIERO SODERINI. INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

Amerigo Vespucci is the most enigmatic figure in the history of American exploration. Almost immediately after his death critics began to impugn his veracity, and brand him as an impostor; and these attacks persist to the present day. Another school of historians took up the cudgels in his behalf, seeking to justify his statements and vindicate his reputation. Many other writers, feeling that truth usually lies somewhere between two such divergent attitudes, prejudiced neither for nor against Vespucci, eager only to arrive at the truth, have displayed the utmost ingenuity in attempting to solve the various historical *crucis* which abound in the writings of the Florentine navigator. If at the present day little progress has been made toward the definitive solution of many of these points, the reason is plain. The philologist no less than the historian is puzzled by the Vespucci "Letters"; yet no philologist has ever seriously grappled with the problems in them. Vespucci's writings have had a strange and complicated history. They have suffered at the hands of translators, copyists, printers, and even, it is to be feared, at those of modern editors. The texts on which we base our judgments are vastly different from those which left the author's hand. The extant versions of these must be critically examined, collated and classified; critical texts must be established before historians can hope to form accurate judgments based upon

Vespucci's writings. The critical study of these texts is therefore our immediate problem.

Lest this judgment should appear arrogant, it is well to indicate that such a study has long been a recognized need among scholars. Over a century ago Napione well said: "In order to undertake the critical examination of an author we must ascertain before anything else whether we possess texts which are honest and devoid of corruption, which contain what the author in question has actually thought and written. Whether in the next place he has told or narrated the truth, that is matter for an investigation wholly secondary and subsequent."¹ Twenty-one years ago these remarks were quoted with approval by that gifted Italian geographer, the late Luigi Hughes, one of the most acute investigators who ever approached the Vespucci problem. Hughes promised that he would himself undertake this philological study.² Unfortunately he died without having fulfilled his promise. Uzielli, too,^{2a} after remarking that Vespucci's reputation has suffered greatly owing to corrupt texts, says: "It has therefore happened that both foes and friends of Vespucci have always based their reasoning upon erroneous texts of his letters, without ever seeking to collate them with the most authentic and most ancient codices; or indeed if the navigator's biographers have sought to make a critical examination of them, his very advocates, singular thing, commonly display a palaeographical incompe-

¹ Napione, *Esame critico del primo viaggio di Amerigo Vespucci nell'anno 1506*. (1810), p. 19. Quoted by Hughes.

² See *Notizie e studi in connessione colla raccolta pubblicata dalla reale commissione colombiana*. (Roma, presso la società geografica italiana), 1894, p. 182.

^{2a} Bandini, *Vita di Amerigo Vespucci*, (edited with commentary by Gustavo Uzielli, Florence), 1898. Uzielli's proposed critical text was to be a companion volume to this.

tence as great as their scorn toward the alleged forgers of the codices is absurd." . . . "This being so, it is perfectly superfluous and absurd to continue to argue about Vespucci before the critical edition is published," etc. After making these judicious observations, Uzielli promises such a critical text; but like Hughes he has not yet fulfilled his promise. Neither can I find that any other scholar has considered these textual problems with the requisite detail and thoroughness.

SCOPE OF THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION

The present author proposes to make such a study of Vespucci's so-called Soderini Letter. This document will now be treated solely in its philological aspects. The wider and more interesting historical questions which it raises must be left to professional historians for solution. My aim is first to describe the three extant versions in which this narrative has come down to us; next, to work out their filiation and trace their descent; then, to state the principles of textual criticism which should be employed in deciding between variant readings. After this will follow an English translation of the Soderini Letter, not based like previous translations upon a single text, but upon all three, following the better readings and supplying omissions. If this study should in some slight measure serve to clear the ground for future workers in the field, that is all which I now hope to accomplish.

THE FLORENTINE PRINT—(P)

That one of the versions which most closely approaches the barbaric half-Italian, half-Spanish jargon of the original is the sixteenth century Italian Print which I designate by the letter P. In spite of the fact that it is guilty of many omissions and numerous printer's errors, it is on the whole our most authentic version. This

print is a small brochure of only 16 folios (32 pages) with signatures, but no pagination. It is printed in Roman type and is adorned with five woodcuts. The title-page bears the inscription: *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuouamente trouate in quattro suoi viaggi*. This is a new title which the original lacked, and was chosen by the printer to replace the original dedication to the Gonfaloniere Piero Soderini whose name does not appear either here or later in the text. The format is a small quarto, measuring 4 x 6¾ inches. There is no colophon, nor anything indicating the printer's name or the place or year of publication. Hence it cannot be dated precisely.

Brunet and Harrisse dated the little book as late as 1516, because it has been found bound together with the Corsali letter of Carlo da Pavia (Florence), 1516. These two letters are of the same style of printing and of the same size, but Harrisse admits that the paper is different. This is manifestly insufficient evidence to permit us to fix upon the date 1516, and Harrisse subsequently admitted the possibility of an earlier date. On the other hand, Varnhagen's copy was bound with a work by St. Bazile, dated 1506. That scholar would therefore accept this as the date of the print of the Soderini Letter. The most searching bibliographical study of this matter is that made by M. K. who translated this text for Mr. Bernard Quaritch.³ As a result of M. K.'s researches we may consider it established that this Italian version was printed at Florence, probably at the expense of Pietro Pacina of Pescia, by a certain printer named Gian Stefano.

³ *The First Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci. Translated from the rare original edition (Florence, 1505-6); with some preliminary notices by M. K.* (London, Bernard Quaritch), 1885. See Bibliographical Note. See also Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. II, p. 163.

A study of type and format has established this. M. K. favors the year 1505; Varnhagen the year 1506.⁴ But both M. K. and Varnhagen are wrong in one particular. Admitting that the Latin translation of 1507⁵ derives from an Italian source, it does not follow, as both these scholars hastily assumed, that that source was the Italian print, P. As a matter of fact it did not so derive, as I shall later show. Therefore it is wrong to say that P must *necessarily* antedate the year 1507. Gian Stefano appears to have set up as an independent printer in 1505, and, as in any case the book cannot have been printed before that date, we may confidently take the year 1505 as a *terminus a quo*. We cannot safely determine a *terminus ad quem*. We can only say that the work was printed in 1505 or not long after.

This print is a bibliographical treasure of extreme rarity. Not more than five copies at most are known to be in existence: first, that in the British Museum Library; second, that in the Biblioteca Palatina, Florence; third, the copy formerly possessed by Varnhagen (present whereabouts unknown), probably now in Brazil; fourth, that formerly belonging to the Marchese Gino Capponi (present whereabouts unknown); fifth, that presented to the Princeton University Library by Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick of Chicago.

This last copy, reproduced in facsimile in another volume of this series, is worthy of detailed mention. Mr. McCormick purchased it at the sale of the library of the late Robert Hoe of New York. Mr. Hoe had bought it of the heirs of the late Mr. Charles Kalbfleisch of the

⁴Varnhagen, *Amerigo Vespucci. Son caractère, ses écrits (même les moins authentiques), sa vie et ses navigations, avec une carte indiquant les routes*. (Lima), 1865, p. 29.

⁵Hylacomylus (Martin Waldzeemüller) *Cosmographiae Introductio*. (Saint-Dié), 1507.

same city. Mr. Kalbfleisch had obtained it from the well known London bookseller, Mr. Bernard Quaritch. It is fully described in the Quaritch catalogue for 1886. Mr. Quaritch had previously procured it at the sale of the library of the late Dr. J. Court, a Parisian collector of rare books. According to Brunet, Quaritch paid £524 for it. Dr. Court had bought it of the Parisian bookseller Tross, who is known to have possessed it some time during the "seventies." While in the possession of Dr. Court, it was bound together with the Corsali letter of 1516. Dr. Court broke the volume and bound the two works separately. Happily these two books have never been sold apart. The Corsali print, too, passed into the hands of Mr. McCormick through the same channels, and was by him generously presented to Princeton University. It is impossible to trace with assurance the pedigree of the Princeton copy further back than to M. Tross. But it is very plausibly conjectured that our copy is the same as that which was purchased for only 50 pounds sterling at the sale of Richard Heber's library. The catalogue of the Bibliotheca Heberiana tells us that the Heber copy, too, was bound together with the Corsali text, and had a red morocco binding. Harris mentions having seen a copy of the Soderini Letter in the possession of M. L'abbé de Billy, "*amateur très éclairé (supérieurement relié en maroquin rouge par Bozerain).*" This, too, may possibly be the same copy. The Princeton copy is uniformly bound in crimson levant morocco, tooled in a Grolieresque design of interlacing gilt panels, relieved by blind tooling, doublure of blue levant morocco gilt, silk guards, gilt edges, in a crimson levant case by Lortic.

The Florentine Print was first reprinted by Bandini in 1745, but Bandini's text is entirely untrustworthy.⁶ The

⁶ Bandini, *Vita e lettere di Amerigo Vespucci* (Florence), 1745. A reprint of this work was made in Florence, 1898 (*Auspice il Comune pei tipi di S. Landi.*)

Brazilian scholar, F. A. de Varnhagen, to whom students of Vespucci are so deeply indebted, made in 1865 a laudable attempt to give a strictly accurate reprint.⁷ Unfortunately, Varnhagen's printer played him false, and numerous errors make this a far from accurate text. Nevertheless it is much superior to Bandini's. In 1893 Bernard Quaritch published a photographic facsimile edition, accompanied by a translation of the four voyages.⁸ The copy thus reproduced is that now in the Princeton Library. An American edition of the Quaritch facsimile appeared in the same year.⁹ M. K.'s rendering of the P version into English is by far the best we have. It is scholarly and of high literary merit. But as the translator did not realize the importance of the Magliabechiana version, that manuscript was not consulted, and hence the importance of the Latin text was also underestimated, though some of its variant readings were cited. As a result, many difficulties of the text remained unsolved, and numerous gaps in the narrative were left unsupplied. M. K.'s translations of the first and third voyages have been reproduced in Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American History* (*s. v.* Vespucci), and also in the *Old South Leaflets* (Nos. 34 and 90). Other translations of the P version have been attempted by various writers, but the

⁷ Varnhagen, *op. cit.*

⁸ *The First Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, Reproduced in Facsimile with Translation, Introduction, a Map, and a Facsimile of a Drawing by Stradanus.* (London, Bernard Quaritch), 1893. The translation is the same as that previously published by the same publisher in 1885. Cited above.

⁹ *The Columbus Memorial, containing the First Letter of Columbus Descriptive of His Voyage to the New World; The Latin Letter to his Royal Patrons, and a Narrative of the Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, Reproduced in Facsimile from the Unique and Excessively Rare Originals, with Illustrations, Introductions, and Notes.* Edited by George Young. (Philadelphia, Jordan Bros.), 1893.

results are so inaccurate as to be utterly valueless. My comment upon these would be so severe that I prefer not to mention their titles.

THE MAGLIABECHIANA MS.—(M)

The next of the three important extant versions of the Soderini Letter is an Italian manuscript now in the Magliabechiana Library, Florence (No. 15, class. 37, cod. 209), which I shall designate by the letter M. This version, alone of the three, appears to bear the true title: *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci à Piero Soderini, Gonfaloniere. L'anno 1504.* At the end occurs this remark: Copiata hoggi questo di x di Febbraio MCCCCIIII per me D. Lorenzo di Piero Choralmi dà Dicomano, Noto. fiorentino, à compiacenza de' nostri Magci. Girolamo di Nofri del Caccia et Baldino Troscia, dua del numero de' nostri Magci. et eccelsi sigri. di Libertà del Populo Fiorentino bene meriti; À quali io sono loro buono seruidore. Laus Deo. Or in English: Copied today this tenth day of February, 1504, by me Don Lorenzo di Piero Choralmi dà Dicomano, Florentine notary, to oblige their Magnificences Girolamo di Nofri del Caccia and Baldino Troscia, two of the number of our magnificent and exalted lords, well deserving of the free people of Florence. Whose good servant I am. Praise be unto God.

As Vespucci dated his letter the tenth of September, 1504, the date here given by Choralmi would appear erroneous to one ignorant of the fact that the Florentine reckoning was one year behind the true one. Choralmi's copy was therefore made in 1505, just five months subsequent to the dating of the original. It was therefore a very early copy.

But M is not itself the original Choralmi copy. The

handwriting is modern, probably that of the eighteenth century. It is a later copy, either direct or indirect of C, the Choralmi MS. It was this undoubted modernity of M which led Varnhagen to underestimate its importance, and later investigators may have been led astray by his remarks.¹⁰ Yet even Varnhagen saw that this MS "might have a different source from the printed copy"; and it must have been this MS which informed Bandini and later Varnhagen that Soderini was the man to whom the Letter was addressed, and which enabled the latter to expose the falsity of the dedication of the Latin version to King René of Lorraine. This information could not have been obtained from either P or the Latin. Varnhagen even instanced one lacuna in P which M supplied. But in spite of the great insight he frequently displayed in other matters, the Brazilian scholar was weak in textual criticism. To his mind an undoubtedly modern MS was of no value in helping to understand an early sixteenth century version, and he rejected it as of slight importance. He would have been justified in so doing only if M were a direct descendant of P; but that this was not the case even Varnhagen dimly recognized. He may have been influenced, though we are far from accusing him of disingenuousness, by the fact that M like the Latin has the reading *Parias* instead of *Lariab* (P). Inasmuch as so large a part of Varnhagen's argument was based upon the assumed correctness of the latter reading, the M reading would have been very disturbing to his theory.

Nevertheless, M is a historical source of the first importance. Though modern, it perpetuates a very early copy (C), earlier probably than P, and frequently preserves the correct tradition where the nearly contemporary P goes astray. It is invaluable in aiding to deter-

¹⁰ Varnhagen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

mine the relationship between P and the Latin version, to decide which of these two is right when they diverge. It also greatly enhances the importance of the Latin, proving that many passages in the latter version which had been thought to be interpolations belonged in the original. Varnhagen was correct in saying that the language of P is far closer to the original than is that of M. The M scribe (or possibly the scribe Choralmi or both) has substituted good Italian equivalents for many of the characteristic Spanish forms of the original. But Varnhagen failed to notice that M preserves a few of these which P in turn had italianized. A process of italianization is therefore observable in P likewise. M also lacks many of the mechanical errors in P due to the process of printing.

The M MS consists of 26 folios, the narrative ending on 26 recto. The written portion of each page measures 4 x 9 inches. The hand is eighteenth century, clear, and legible, with very few abbreviations to be solved. The scribe has had difficulty with many of the Spanish words which he failed to understand. There are in it a number of omissions supplied by the other versions, but frequently M supplies deficiencies in the others. M has no interpolations. In spite of its modernity, then, it is as useful an instrument in reconstructing the original text as either of the others.

THE HYLACOMYLUS VERSION—(H)

Martin Waldzeemüller's famous *Cosmographiae Introductio* was printed at Saint-Dié, Lorraine, on the 25th of April, 1507, and contained a Latin translation of the Soderini Letter, based upon a previous translation of that work from the Italian into the French. It is generally referred to briefly as the Hylacomylus version.

Hylacomylus was the classic name assumed by Waldseemüller in his scholarly writings. The *Cosmographiae Introductio* enjoyed an immense European vogue. It passed through several editions, and was retranslated, in whole or in part, into many of the vernaculars. The H version was therefore the form in which for many years the Soderini letter was known to scholars, while the document in its Italian form lapsed into oblivion, and there remained until Bandini came forth with his faulty reprint in 1745. The Latin text of the 1507 edition of H is most conveniently to be consulted in Varnhagen's reprint.¹¹

Just as Varnhagen failed to appreciate the importance of the M version, so, too, he failed to understand the value of H. By revindicating the importance of P, Varnhagen rendered a conspicuous service; but in his enthusiasm for P he wrongly refused to recognize the importance of the other texts, M and H. It is unpleasant to insist so strongly upon the faults of method observed in the work of so deserving a scholar; but it is necessary to do so when subsequent scholars, John Fiske for example, have taken so many of his statements on trust. Here is what Varnhagen says of H: "A conscientious method would reject this version (H), and brush aside also the German translations, which proceed all from the same source, and not from the original text (P, as he considers) to which as we have said, we shall hold strictly in the following pages."¹² Now, Varn-

¹¹ *Op. Cit.* A good facsimile edition of the *Cosmographic Introductio* has been published by the United States Catholic Historical Society, Monograph IV: *The Cosmographic Introductio of Martin Waldseemüller in facsimile. Followed by the four voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, with their translation into English* (ed. Fischer, Von Wieser, Herbermann, New York), 1907.

¹² Varnhagen,, *Le premier voyage de Amerigo Vespucci, op. cit.*, p. 2.

hagen's fundamental error is that he considers that H had P as an ancestor, passing, of course, through the French. This assumption is false, as can be shown by the collation of M and P with it. Even without the help of M, which Varnhagen had read, we could easily prove that H and P have different lines of descent and therefore should be used to correct one another. Varnhagen is right in saying that the descendants of H are valueless for purposes of collation; but with regard to H, he assumed without careful investigation that this version, which he knew to have been printed in 1507, necessarily sprang from the Italian Print (P) which he flattered himself with having proved to have been printed in 1506. Varnhagen deserves credit for his easy refutation of Napione's absurd theory that H was the original, and P a translation of H. Of course, we have an *a priori* distrust of a version which is a translation of a translation. A document with such a history is sure to contain much error. Nevertheless, if it has a distinct ancestry, it may here and there be correct even against versions which have never been translated out of the original. That this is true with regard to H our investigation will show.

But is it true that H is a translation out of the French into the Latin and that the French version, now lost, goes back to an Italian source? We find in H this statement: *quattur (sic) subiungentur nauigationes ex Italico sermone in Gallicum & ex gallico in latinum verse*. There is no reason for doubting this plain statement, but let us test it in connection with what internal evidence we can find in H.

The best evidence that H does go back to an ultimate Italian source is afforded by two geographic names which appear in Italian rather than in Latin, French, Spanish, or Portuguese form: *Serra-Liona* and *Li Azori*. These

two words alone prove the point, but a study of the translators' blunders clinches it. Where P and M correctly have the word *capanna*, "cabin," "hut," H has several times erroneously substituted *campana*, "bell." Such a confusion between Italian *capanna* and *campana* is natural; there could have been no like confusion between the corresponding French words: *cabane* and *cloche*, *sonnette*, *grelot*, or any other word for "bell" in that tongue. Hence this blunder must be ascribed to some intermediary translator, not to the one who turned the Soderini Letter into Latin. A very similar instance is afforded by the name Cape Verde which curiously enough appears in H as Green Field (*Campus Viridis*). This is clearly due to a confusion between Italian *capo* and *campo*. A misplaced tilde would account for this and the preceding blunder. Such a confusion could not arise between the French words *cap* and *champ*. This mistake occurs in H no less than six times. These errors, again, must be ascribed to an intermediary translator. Additional evidence of an intermediary version is afforded by the fact that where M and P have a Latin phrase: *Quo modocumque sit*, we have corresponding to it in H: *Utcumque tamen sit*. Now, if the first phrase had not been translated into some vernacular, the Latin author would simply have retained it.

We have now proved amply that the H version goes back to an ultimate Italian original through some intermediary version, but was this latter French? We can hardly doubt that such was the case. In one instance Italian *suolo*, "soil," "ground," appears in H as *Phoebus*, "sun." Now, a French translator would hardly have rendered *suolo* by *soleil*. He should be acquitted of this blunder. He doubtless correctly rendered *suolo* by *sol*, and French *sol* suggested Latin *sol* with its different

meaning to the Latin translator. For this he substituted a poetic synonym: *Phoebus*. On the other hand, where we find in H *ursis*, "bears," corresponding to Italian *lonze*, "leopards," I do not believe that the Latin translator was at fault. If the *n* were misread for a *u*, *lonze* might suggest *ours* or *ourse* to a Frenchman; in which case the *l* would be mistaken for the definite article. There are other mistakes whose origin is not so clear. Italian *costa*, "coast," is three times mistranslated *collis*, "hill," in H; but as Italian *costa* and French *côte* both have the double meanings "coast" and "hill," it is impossible to say in which of the languages the error originated. Again, *ci pesò molto* absurdly appears in H as *credimus*, "we believed." Was Italian *pesare* confused with Italian *pensare*, or French *peser* with French *penser*?

This investigation seems to me to confirm fully the assertion of Hylacomylus with regard to the provenience of H. We may consider it established that the Latin version is a translation of a translation, deriving through a lost French version from an Italian original, which we shall show is different from that of either P or M. The Latin rendering has been variously ascribed to Jean Basin de Sendacour and to Ringmann (Philesius), both members of the Saint-Dié group. Lud states in his *Speculum Orbis* that Basin made the Latin rendering, and that the French version came to René from Portugal direct.

As might be supposed, H contains more errors than either P or M. It shows the errors of several copyists, those of two translators, those of the printer, and also a few departures from literalness due to the Latin translator's rhetorical preoccupations. In the interest of style he sometimes departed from his bald original. And yet I do not believe that there are any interpolated passages in H other than these, the false title, and the new dedi-

cation to King René. There are a very few phrases and sentences in H, which appear to me to belong in the text and which occur neither in P or M. But, as I shall show, the two latter fall into a sub-group by themselves, having a common ancestor that H lacked. Hence one cannot straightway reject a passage in H not found in the others. The more so as it can occasionally be shown that H is right against both P and M in other particulars. H, too, is a valuable aid in reconstructing a critical text, in spite of its many errors. M and P also abound in error. P shows the mistakes of several copyists and one printer. It shows a slight tendency to italianize Spanish words, but lacks errors due to a desire to modernize; and there has been no effort to improve the style. M shows the errors of several copyists, a strong tendency toward italianization and modernization. It lacks errors due to printing, and, like P, shows no tendency to depart from the bald style of the original. All three versions, P, M, and H, must be studied in common, and their mutual relationship worked out. Each helps to understand the others.

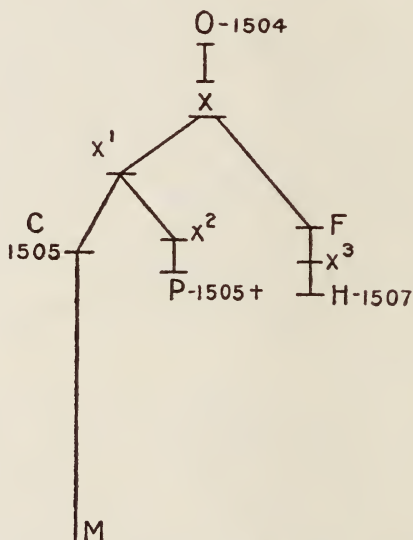
But before doing this, mention must be made of still a fourth version of the Letter, in the form of another MS, known as the Amoretti codex (A). This MS was first described by Gino Capponi.¹³ Unfortunately inquiries recently made in Italy have failed to reveal the present whereabouts of A. The present author cannot say whether this MS still exists. We know from Capponi's description that it is modern, contains few hispanicisms, and has the reading *Perias* instead of *Lariab*. This item of information enables us to be sure that A cannot be a descendant of P. It would appear to be more closely

¹³ Capponi, *Osservazioni sull' Esame Critico del Primo Viaggio d'Amerigo Vespucci al Nuovo Mondo* (Florence), 1813, p. 13.

related to M than to P or H. Varnhagen did not see A. Should some future investigator discover A, its readings would probably serve to confirm or correct the results of this study in certain details. While regretting that this MS is not available, I do not believe that it is vitally important.

A GENEALOGICAL TREE

A comparison of P, M, and H shows that these three versions stood one to the other in the following relationship:



Let O represent the Soderini Letter in its original Italian form. X is a MS which I posit on what may seem slight, but which is, I believe, sufficient evidence. A certain port on the coast of Brazil which Vespucci's Portuguese companions named *Bahia de todos os santos*, All Saints' Bay, appears in all three of the extant versions as All Saints' Abbey (P and M: *badia*; H: *abbatiam*). This strange error was perpetuated on nearly all the maps of Brazil published for a century after the appearance of

the *Cosmographiae Introductio*. It seems hardly plausible to suppose a *lapsus calami* on the part of the author of O. It is more likely that the foreign word *bahia* (it might be either Portuguese or Spanish) was misunderstood by a later Italian copyist and rendered *badia*, "abbey," with a change of one letter, instead of by the correct Italian equivalent, *baia*, "bay." If this, the simplest explanation, be correct, then we must posit the existence of a common ancestor for P, M, and H other than O, viz. X. The fact that I am unable to detect other errors common to all three shows that X must have been fairly correct and close to O. Now, the other errors of H are not found in M and P; hence H must have, subsequent to X, a different line of descent. F, the French version, descends from X. X³ is a Latin manuscript translation of F, that placed in the hands of the printer, from which resulted H. There may have been other intermediary copies between X and H. I find no positive evidence of their existence, and note merely those copies which the evidence forces us to accept.

On the other side of the group, X had a descendent X¹, another posited copy, whose existence I shall now proceed to prove by citing a number of errors common to P and M and which H has escaped. These errors show that P and M derive from a common ancestor from which H did not derive. References are to the folios of P, recto and verso, so that the P readings may be consulted either in our own facsimile, in that of Quaritch, or in Varnhagen's page for page reprint.

2v. Both P and M abbreviate a passage which H gives entire, combining as it were P and M: P: ci uiddono uestiti & d'altra statura; M: ci uedeuono et d'altra effigie che non es loro; H: quod vestitos, alteriusque effigiei quam forent, nos esse intuiti sunt.

3v. P: continuar; M: continuare. Both wrongly give an infinitive instead of the adverbial form which the sense requires: continuo. Proved by H: frequentissime.

6r. P. M: dua fanciulle et dua homini; H; iuenculis duas et viris tres. Inasmuch as all three versions later give the total "five," it is as plain that P and M are here wrong as it is that two and two make four. A very decisive instance.

6r. P, M: torne, where toccarne would make better sense. H: contingere.

7v. Both P and M read alloggiate where alleggiate, "lightened," "unloaded," would make better sense; H: exoneravimus.

7v. P: ghustammo; M: gustamo, "tasted." Gastammo, "consumed," seems better. H: consumpsimus.

9r. P: la qual terra trouammo essere tucta annegata & piena di grandissimi fiumi; M: La qual terra trouamo essere molto uerde et di grandissimi Arbori. Each of the Italian versions is incomplete, the Latin complete. H: Eandem terram in aquis omnino submersam, necnon magnis fluminibus perfusam esse invenimus, quae et quidem semet plurimum viridem et proceras altissimasque arbores habentem monstrabat.

11v. P, M: di di (a nonsensical corruption of donde); H: ubi. Another decisive instance.

13v. M: aspectandoli, showing an omission; P: aspetta-moli 8 di; H: diebus sex perstitimus. The H reading is not only complete where M is deficient, but "six" is correct, as is proved by a later allusion to the following "seventh day" in all three.

14r. P: & qui trouammo canna fistola molto grossa & uerde & secca in cima delli arbori; M: et qui trouamo cagnafistola molto grossa et secca incima delli Albori. Both readings are incomplete and confused. H: ubi

cannas fistulas virides, plurimum grossas, et etiam nonnullas in arborum cacuminibus seccas invenimus.

These instances, and I might cite others not quite so certain, amply prove the existence of a former version X^1 . The existence of X^1 is also rendered probable by certain omissions which P and M have of passages found in H. I do not here cite these, because it might be urged that the passages in question are, some if not all, interpolations in H, though I do not believe that any of them are so. Numerous passages in H which Varnhagen had believed to be interpolations are now proved by M to have belonged in O. The few remaining passages, not found in either P or M, all of which appear to belong naturally in the text, may be explained as omissions in the common ancestor of P and M, X^1 . The fact must be emphasized that there are no scribal blunders in H common to P against M, or to M against P. We have therefore proved two distinct lines of descent subsequent to X, P and M falling together in one sub-group, and H in another.

It will be seen that X^1 was so inaccurate as compared to X that intermediary copies between them are very possible. C represents the Choralmi copy of 1505, from which the later M descends directly. X^2 represents a copy deriving from X^1 , that placed in the hands of the printer of P. This copy is proved by purely scribal errors to be found in P distinct from the printer's errors also found in that version. As the discrepancy between P and M is very great, there may also have been other copies than those I posit between X^1 and M and X^1 and P.

PRINCIPLES TO BE OBSERVED IN RECONSTRUCTING O

We can now better appreciate how far our extant texts are removed from the original, and how uncertain must

be a historical judgment based upon the readings of any one, or indeed any two, of them. Such uncritical procedure has been a prolific source of error, and has caused Vespucci's veracity to be impugned in many cases when he was merely the victim of scribe or printer. To avoid this in the future we must seek to re-establish the correct readings of O. The first step is, obviously, to combine M and P in order to reconstruct X^1 . There are scores of instances where M and P are at variance. In nearly every such case comparison with H gives the desired reading. A two to one vote decides (HP versus M, or HM versus P). Granted the existence of the common ancestor X^1 for P and M, this process becomes one of mathematical certainty; for the source of error must be subsequent to X^1 . To illustrate with a single example: When we have the reading *Parias* (MH) against *Lariab* (P), to say nothing of the Amoretti Codex reading *Perias*, we may be certain that *Lariab* is erroneous. This is a matter of complete demonstration. How greatly this one established fact will cause historians to revise their opinions regarding the itinerary of the alleged first voyage, only those well versed in the subject will appreciate. It is a fact very damaging to the theories of Varnhagen and Fiske, and will more than ever confirm in their opinion those who reject the authenticity of the first voyage.

X^1 , therefore, may be reconstituted by a purely mechanical process, in so far as we are dealing with words and not troubling ourselves with the dialectical forms in which those words appeared; but to work backward to X is a much more delicate and uncertain matter. When we have the combination MP versus H, the vote is no longer two against one, but rather one to one, because it is really X^1 that we are comparing with H. When M

and P agree they are correctly perpetuating their common ancestor, which itself may or may not be correct. In such cases, wherever possible, we should be guided by external criteria. To illustrate: In an example cited above, both M and P make two and two total five. Here we call mathematics to our aid, decide that X¹ is at fault, and adopt the "two and three" reading of H. Conversely, where M and P allude to a statement as being found in the 26th canto of Dante's *Inferno* and H instead refers to the 22nd canto, we open our Dante to decide the point and render a verdict against H. Where P reads *Melacca*, M. *Melatha*, and H. *Melcha*, our knowledge of geography causes us to favor the P reading. Such cases as these are childishly simple, but such easy solutions are rare. We must also take into careful account the genius of the MS. Where M and P read "my voyage" and H "our voyage," we decide for H, because in nearly every other similar instance the reading "our voyage" is assured. But for the most part we shall be forced to rely upon common sense and the inherent probability of the case. There will remain a small residuum of uncertain readings based upon nothing better than the editor's subjective impressions. Where there appears little or no choice between two readings, I believe we should favor the Italian versions against the Latin, because the possibility of error is always greater in H; but such readings will not be assured, because it so often happens that H is correct. The Italian original upon which H was indirectly based was clearly much more reliable than either M or P. Where all three versions disagree, the situation is still more difficult. When at last we have arrived as nearly as possible to a reconstruction of the X version by the delicate process of combining X¹ and H, the only thing to be done is to correct such obvious errors as are

common to M, P, and H (I have found only one case), and the result is O, or as close an approach to it as we can hope to reach.

The process of arriving at a critical text is complicated by the fact that one of the three versions compared is in a different language from the two others; but a far greater difficulty arises when we consider the strange character of the dialect of the original. The language of O was an odd jargon, composed of vulgar Florentine and Spanish. There exists no other contemporary document useful as an external norm to guide the editor in his choice of forms, with the possible exception of Vespucci's so-called apocryphal letters which help very little. I believe that with the material at hand it would be possible to construct a text of the Soderini Letter that would be nearly, if not wholly complete, and contain very closely the words of the original. But when it comes to determining the dialectical forms of these words and deciding whether Italian or Spanish words should be employed, that is a very different matter. The present writer despairs of reconstituting a text that will even closely approach the mixed jargon of the original. Comparison of M with P shows that the language of X' must have been still more Spanish and barbarous than that of P; X and O were probably each in turn still more uncouth. But all this matters very little. We are interested in the Soderini Letter as a historical source, not as a monument of literature or linguistics. The present writer, therefore, proposes to evade the difficulties of dialect by attempting a reconstitution of O in English. Such a text will, it is hoped, give the historian the facts he desires. Nevertheless, we must now study more closely the strange Italo-Hispanic jargon of P and M to determine whether the Soderini Letter may not be

even in its original Italian form merely the revamping of a work originally written in Spanish.

DID O HAVE A SPANISH ORIGINAL?

The H version plainly states that the Soderini Letter is the same, or essentially the same, as one previously written to King Ferdinand of Spain: "*res . . . ad Ferdinandum Castiliae Regem nominatim scriptas ad te quoque mittam.*" "I shall send thee also things written expressly for Ferdinand, King of Castile." In the Latin version this remark is addressed to Duke René of Lorraine, but it does not stand in the new and false dedication of the letter to that nobleman, at the very beginning, but farther down in the text. Nothing corresponding to this is found in either P or M. Since the time of Varnhagen, this passage has been regarded as an interpolation in H. I shall not beg the question at the beginning of my argument by insisting that this phrase is genuine. I frankly admit that it may be an interpolation, though I strongly believe it to be genuine for the following reasons:

1. As already stated the interpolations in H, if they exist at all, are very few, and this is certainly the most striking of them. On this very page of the Latin text occur the words *Georgii Anthonii Vesputii, avunculi mei*. Now, Varnhagen considered the words *avunculi mei* an interpolation because they were not proved by P, and this in spite of the fact that the individual mentioned was in truth Vespucci's uncle. But the M version contains the words *mio zio* in the corresponding passage, proving H correct. M has proved the authenticity of scores of similar supposed interpolations in H. The very few remaining questionable passages not proved by P or M may well be due to omissions in their common ancestor X¹.

2. What object would the men of Saint-Dié have for inserting a lying statement in their text? We have proved correct the other statements of the Latin translator regarding the provenience of his version, viz. that it came through the French from an Italian source. Therefore when the same writer indicates a Spanish source for the Italian, his statement should not be hastily dismissed as unimportant; it deserves to be tested carefully. On the other hand, would not an Italian scribe have an object in omitting this statement? It would flatter the people of Florence to suppose that the letter received by their magistrate, the Gonfaloniere Piero Soderini, was an original document, and not merely a re-working of one first sent to a foreign king. And if the P scribe even omits the dedication to Soderini, what wonder that he or a still earlier scribe should have omitted the reference to King Ferdinand? It is easier to explain an omission than an interpolation.

3. In this passage, Ferdinand's title is erroneously given as "King of Castile" instead of correctly as "King of Aragon." Now, Vespucci farther on, in an assured passage makes this same mistake. Of course, the Latin author may have looked ahead in the text and copied Vespucci in this error. But is this explanation more likely than the other?

4. Was it not wholly natural for Vespucci to write the first account of his voyages to one of his immediate patrons and then send copies or translations to potentates in other lands? This was the usual practice of the early navigators. On returning from his voyage a discoverer would write his *narrationes* which often amounted in length to a book. A copy would first be presented to the navigator's immediate patron under whose auspices the voyage had been made, and who had the first right to be

informed concerning it. But curiosity concerning the new voyages was keen throughout Europe. Other kings and prominent men would clamor for information, or the navigator would seek to arouse their interest if it was lacking. Naturally the latter would not write a new book of travel for each correspondent. He would send copies of his original. In case the correspondent spoke another tongue, a translation of the original might be made. These copies and translations were probably in most cases the work of other hands; hence the large amount of error and contradiction which make these documents the despair of modern scholarship. To mention only three great names, it was the custom of Toscanelli, Columbus, and Pigafetta to send duplicate letters or translations broad-cast through Europe. But was this the custom of Vespucci himself? Yes. The *Mundus Novus* is addressed to Piero dei Medici. Toward the close of that letter, Vespucci apologizes to his sovereign for delay in sending the letter, but blames the King of Portugal who has retained in his possession the original narrative (*archetypum*). Evidently, Vespucci had intended to send Piero dei Medici a mere transcript or translation of his "archtype," but, failing to obtain it, was forced to write an entirely new account. What then more natural than that Vespucci should base his narrative to Soderini upon one previously prepared in Spanish for his patron Ferdinand? To this Vespucci's critics will reply that the first voyage is a figment of the imagination and that Vespucci would never have dared circulate this document in Spain where the facts were known. Without entering into the mooted question of Vespucci's first voyage, I answer that I do not insist that the supposed Spanish "archtype" was divided into the scheme of four voyages, though it may have been. Vespucci always in-

sists that he has completed four voyages, and the title of his long work was to have been the *Quattro Giornate*. It is well known that much of the material found in the first voyage of the Soderini Letter also appears in the *Mundus Novus* which has to do with the third voyage. I merely contend that the Soderini Letter may have been in part based upon some previously existing Spanish narrative from which Vespucci himself, or some secretary in his employ, drew and re-worked in order to lighten the labor. There is undoubtedly much of a personal nature in the Soderini Letter that could not have stood in any Spanish source. But these touches, which occur mostly at the beginning and the end, were easy to add. When we consider the close relationship between Italy and Spain during the epoch of the discovery, when we recall the strange way in which many of Columbus' letters have come down to us, and the questions which arise regarding Ferdinand Columbus' *Historie* (known to us only in its Italian form), there is nothing inherently improbable in the assumption that the Soderini Letter may have had an antecedent Spanish form. We might also mention the curious Trevigiano edition of Martyr's *Decades* and the question which has arisen as to the first form in which Pigafetta prepared his narrative.

5. By far the strongest reason for supposing that the statement in H is correct is the fact that a Spanish origin seems to be confirmed by the numerous hispanicisms of the Soderini Letter. These are so striking, and so hard to explain on any other hypothesis, that to my mind they prove the point of themselves. This is a matter which demands a detailed investigation. But first we must state the generally accepted theory regarding Vespucci's language.

TWO THEORIES RESPECTING VESPUCCI'S LANGUAGE

All those who have written on Vespucci have pointed out the large number of Spanish words and idioms to be found in his Soderini Letter. Bandini called attention to many of these in his edition of the Letter, though he modernized others; Canovai gave a fairly complete list of them in the form of a glossary;¹⁴ and Varnhagen indicated hispanisms by printing them in italics. To account for these hispanisms two theories suggest themselves: 1. Vespucci had lived so long in Spain and Portugal, had sailed on so many voyages with cosmopolitan crews, that he had virtually forgotten his own language and had come to speak and write a sort of *lingua franca* in which it had become as natural for him to employ a Spanish or a Portuguese as an Italian word. 2. The Soderini Letter is based upon some Spanish original. Let us examine both these views, and, if possible, determine which of the two represents the truth.

The first theory has been upheld, though be it said on faith and without searching investigation, by nearly all the historians and biographers of Vespucci. Canovai and HARRISSE, are the most prominent of those who doubted whether the Italian version was original in that language. Canovai makes little of the point, and HARRISSE says: "Vespucius certainly wrote a great deal, but he is not the author of the accounts of his voyages which have been transmitted to us. As to the above-mentioned Letters, not only the original text is lost, but we do not even know in what language they were originally written. That two of those important documents were composed at Lisbon does not admit of much doubt, but whether in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, or Latin, no one can determine; although some critics endeavor to satisfy all

¹⁴ Canovai, *Viaggi di Amerigo Vespucci* (Florence), 1832.

parties by asserting that the first two were written in the language of Spain, and the last two in that of Portugal."¹⁵ Most authorities such as Napione, Gino Capponi, Varnhagen, Major, Antonio de Martino, and Rambaldi are of one mind. Martino, while he recognizes the fact that the errors due to "sophists and printers" are such that we can rely on no single date or orthography in P and H, nevertheless thinks it natural for Vespucci to have used hispanicisms.¹⁶ Capponi gives the orthodox formulation of the *lingua franca* theory: "Like Signor Napione I cannot wonder at the many hispanicisms which are to be met with in *The Four Voyages*, as it seems to me that these are only too natural, after a long sojourn in Spain on the part of a man who frankly blames himself for the barbarity of his own style."¹⁷ Varnhagen attests that those who, like himself, have lived many years in Spanish-speaking lands are familiar with instances of Italians in those countries who speak a like jargon. Varnhagen makes the presence or absence of hispanicisms in a letter attributed to Vespucci the touchstone of its authenticity, and rejects the so-called apocryphical letters mainly on the ground that he finds no traces of Spanish in them.

Needless to say, we are all familiar with the foreigner who has half forgotten his native tongue, without ever really learning that of the country of his adoption. He is really a man without a language. We admit at the outset that such a linguistic phenomenon is common. But is this likely to have been the case with Vespucci? Let us examine. The Florentine navigator was born in 1451.

¹⁵ Harris, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* (New York), 1866, pp. 64 f.

¹⁶ Martino, *In quale anno Amerigo Vespucci compì il suo primo viaggio in America*. (Avellino), 1902.

¹⁷ Capponi, *op. cit.*, quoted by Varnhagen, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

We know that he never left Italy for any long period of time, and hence never grew out of the habit of speaking Italian, until 1490, when he took service in Spain. There and on his voyages he was associated with other Italians, so that even then he did not lose the opportunity of conversing in his native tongue. After fourteen years of residence in Spain and Portugal, and time spent in navigation, he writes the Soderini Letter in 1504. If the language of that letter as it has been transmitted to us in the P version represents at all accurately the dialect in which it was originally penned by Vespucci, then the latter had in the course of fourteen years so forgotten his native tongue that he could scarcely write a sentence in Italian without violating the genius of that language. We shall find that he had forgotten some of the simplest words and idioms in the Italian vocabulary and substituted for them words and phrases which he ought to have known would be meaningless nonsense to his countrymen. Is this likely? At the age of thirty-nine a man's linguistic habits are formed. He acquires a foreign tongue with difficulty and is less likely to forget his own than is one who has left home at an earlier age. But that man who has sufficient talent for language to learn at that age to write with correctness a foreign tongue is less likely to be illiterate in his own than one who only partially learns the speech of his adopted country. Now, the only autograph letter of Vespucci's which has so far come to light is one dated Dec. 9, 1508 and addressed to the famous Cardinal Ximénez.¹⁸ This letter is written in

¹⁸ *Tre lettere di Cristoforo Colombo ed Amerigo Vespucci* (ed. Zeri, Rome), 1881. This is an Italian reprint of the letter which was first printed in Spain: *Carta de Amerigo Vespucci al Cardinal Arzobispo de Toledo (Ximénez de Cisneros) dándole su parecer sobre las mercancías que hubieron de llevarse á las islas antillas. Ministerio de fomento. Cartas de Indias.* (Madrid), 1877. The

Vespucci's hand throughout. It is not the work of a secretary. We should not be surprised if the document revealed traces of Italian idiom. But nothing of the sort is apparent. The language is pure Castilian. We are asked, then, to believe that an educated man, capable of expressing himself in good Spanish, was incapable of writing intelligently his mother tongue. Supporters of the *lingua franca* theory make much of the fact that Vespucci accuses himself of writing in a barbarous style. This confession may be merely the mock modesty of a humble subject addressing a ruler who was himself a man of letters. Or it may be that Vespucci, like Benvenuto Cellini later, wrote a popular form of the Florentine and was guilty of certain solecisms. Other members of his family used this dialect.¹⁹ It is not necessary to suppose that he wrote elegant, literary Italian. Florentine then as now was less fixed than Castilian. Neither is it improbable that like many another traveler Vespucci may have occasionally used an exotic word; but it is incomprehensible that he could ever have employed a jargon as unintelligible as that of P. Many passages in the Soderini Letter cannot be understood by an Italian unversed in Spanish. Again, the apology for the barbarous style may have been inserted by a translator who had misgivings concerning the accuracy of his rendering. All things considered, there are strong grounds for doubting

only errors of Spanish which I note are two: *yr i lleuar* for *yr á lleuar* and *aueria por muy dificoltoza* for *tendria p. m. d.* Any Spaniard of the time might have made these slight errors, if errors they can be called.

¹⁹ Masetti-Bencini: *La vita di Amerigo Vespucci a Firenze da lettere inedite a lui dirette. Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi.* Vol. XIII (Nos. 10-12 and Vol. XIV, Nos. 3-4. The 71 letters here printed were addressed to Vespucci by members of his family and are written in a rude Florentine very much like that used by Cellini.

that Vespucci was an illiterate in his use of Italian. The very nature of the mistakes is such as to suggest that the Soderini Letter is a faulty rendering or re-working of some document first written in Spanish.

With regard to the latter possibility John Fiske says: "The language of this text is a corrupt Italian, abounding in such Spanish and Portuguese words and turns of expression as Vespucci would have been likely, during fourteen years of residence in the Iberian peninsula and of association with sailors, to incorporate into his everyday speech. This fact is very significant, for if a book thus printed in Florence were a translation from anything else, its language would be likely to be the ordinary Italian of the time, not a jargon salted with the Atlantic brine. Altogether it seems in the highest degree probable that we have here the primitive text, long given up for lost, of the ever memorable letter from Vespucci to his former schoolmate Soderini."²⁰ "Jargon salted with the Atlantic brine" is a pretty phrase, but Fiske's argument will not stand inspection. Nobody would be surprised if Vespucci used only such Spanish words as everyday association with sailors would lead him to incorporate into his Italian. Pigafetta does so, yet nobody would suspect a Spanish original for Pigafetta's narrative. Vespucci's hispanicisms are of a very different sort. Again, what right had Fiske to assume that a translation, if made, would necessarily have been the work of an educated and competent man. On the contrary any scholar who has dealt with mediaeval or renaissance translations knows that such work was often intrusted to incompetent workmen who not only were not concerned with niceties of style or language, but worried little as to the accuracy of their renderings. A case in point is the translation of

²⁰ Fiske, *The Discovery of America* (Boston and New York), 1892.

Vespucci's *Mundus Novus* into the Venetian dialect, found in the work entitled: *Paesi nuouamente retrouati e Novo Mondo da Alberico (sic) Vesputio* (Vicenza), 1507. The translator of this work has been at no pains to be accurate or to preserve the genius of the Italian. He has in school-boy fashion substituted for most Latin words their corresponding Italian or Venetian cognates without troubling himself to inquire whether these cognates did not often give an utterly absurd meaning. He has even preserved the Latin word order, so foreign to Italian. His process was one of awkward transliteration and little more. Fiske, therefore, begs the question when he assumes that a translation of a Spanish version into Italian would have been couched in good Tuscan. On the contrary, if the translator were unskilled or indifferent, he would merely have substituted for each Spanish word the Italian term most resembling it.

This I believe is what has happened in the case of the Soderini Letter. There has apparently taken place here, too, a process of translation by substitution of cognates rather than by the choice of the exact equivalent in meaning. Italian and Spanish are such closely related languages that in a majority of instances the corresponding cognate would also correspond in meaning, exactly translating the Spanish word. But the true test comes where the related words have developed divergent meanings in the two languages. Then the substitution of an Italian cognate for the like or similarly spelled Spanish form will result in nonsense. At this point I cite but a single example to make plain my point: *Cansar* in Spanish means "to tire"; *cansare* in Italian (*scansare* in modern Italian) means "to dodge," "shun," "avoid." Now is it likely that Vespucci, if originally writing in his native tongue, would forget *stancare* and write "avoid" when

he intended to say "tire?" On the other hand, it is easy to see how a bungling translator would thoughtlessly render Spanish *cansar* by the Italian *cansare*, oblivious of the fact that the sense had been destroyed. This example is typical of many others of the same sort. Throughout the text, in my opinion, there is observable a process of translation by cognates. When the Spanish word suggested nothing to the Italian translator (I am taking his existence for granted as a working hypothesis), that Spanish word was retained in his text.

DOES THE SODERINI LETTER SHOW TRACES OF PORTUGUESE FORMS?

Before examining closely the hispanicisms in P and M, it is necessary to clear the ground by considering whether Portuguese as well as Spanish forms occur in the Letter. If part of the foreign words are Spanish, and part Portuguese, then the case of the advocates of the *lingua franca* theory is greatly strengthened. If on the other hand it can be shown that while Spanish words abound, there are no Portuguese words, or at most such an occasional Portuguese word as any traveler might introduce into his narrative, then there is an increased probability that our text is based on a Spanish original. Varnhagen, who as a Brazilian spoke Portuguese as his mother tongue, gives a number of instances of what he considers Portuguese usage. Let us now take up each of these cases separately.

For the noun *conte*, "beads," Varnhagen suggests Portuguese *contas*. But why rather than Spanish *cuentas*? *Folgato* he thinks represents Portuguese *folgado*. But why Portuguese rather than Spanish *folgado*? He thinks *di basso* represents Portuguese *debaixo*; but Spanish *debaxo* is closer. The verb *rischattare* is not, as

he thinks, Portuguese *resgatar*, but a perfectly good Italian verb. *Cansati* does not represent Portuguese any more than Spanish *cansados*. *Lingue* he takes to be Portuguese *linguas*, "interpreters"; but Spanish *lenguas* also had this meaning. *Ruogo* is surely no closer to Portuguese *rogo* than to Spanish *ruego*. *Cose di riscatto* he thinks to be Portuguese *coisas de resgate*; why rather than Spanish *cosas de rescate*? Besides, *riscatto* is a good Italian form. *Fatesce*, "small boat anchors," he says is Portuguese *fateixas*; but why rather than Spanish *fatexas*? *Parchi*, "a kind of fish," he says is Portuguese *pargos*; why rather than Spanish *pargos*? *Serrazon* he identifies with Portuguese *serração*; Spanish *cerrazón* was often written *serrazón* in the old language. *Cauezuto* does not represent Portuguese any more than Spanish *caueçudo* (modern *cabezudo*).

Every one of this list of alleged Portuguese words cited by Varnhagen may be explained away as being with equal or greater probability Spanish or Italian. When the word is spelled alike in Spanish and Portuguese we cannot say dogmatically that the form in question is not a lusatanianism. But we can say positively that there is not a single form in the Soderini Letter which is unquestionably Portuguese. If such exist, they are of no more significance than the few scraps of Latin therein to be found. There can never be the slightest question of either a Portuguese or a Latin origin for the Soderini Letter.

HISPANICISMS IN P AND M

Our next step is to clear still further the ground by rejecting or questioning certain of the hispanicisms which Bandini, Canovai, and Varnhagen have alleged. Our argument must be based upon only such instances as are

above suspicion. These authors, fully aware that the text was corrupted with many hispanicisms, assumed that those words and idioms not to be found in their modern Italian dictionaries must of necessity be Spanish or Portuguese. They neglected to test the forms for the older Italian language. Such a method is very uncritical, but the modern investigator is provided with better dictionaries than were some of these pioneers. I shall divide the hispanicisms alleged and real into three categories: 1. Instances which undoubtedly or probably show correct Italian usage, and which have wrongly been branded as hispanicisms. 2. Instances of undoubted hispanicisms. 3. Instances which represent alike Italian and Spanish usage, but which in a text which is surely tainted with hispanicisms arouse our suspicion.

I. HISPANICISMS WRONGLY ALLEGED

The following words which Bandini, Canovai or Varnhagen have branded as hispanicisms are perfectly good Old Italian or dialectal forms.

Folio i verso.

usato, does not necessarily represent Spanish *osado* from *osar*; it is rather the participle of Italian *osare*. The *u* for *o* is a common vulgarism. There may also have been some confusion in the scribe's mind between *osare* and *usare*. *Usare* had been employed immediately above.

Folio ii recto.

appartino.

Folio ii verso.

The verb *distare* does not necessarily represent Old Spanish *distar*. Old Italian had *distare*.

fumo a tenere una terra. Italian rather than Spanish.

anchorammo.

stipati.

surte.
 accordammo, in the sense "we resolved."
 insenata, a good Old Italian word for "bay." Does not
 of necessity represent Old Spanish *ensenada*.
 Folio iii recto.
 mediana.
 formose. Does not necessarily represent Spanish
hermosas.
 copercho.
 non tiene in conto.
 miglior. Varnhagen betrays an ignorance of Italian
 when he says this is a hispanicism.
 Folio iii verso.
 rete.
 coltroni. A good Old Italian word. Does not of neces-
 sity represent Spanish *colchones*.
 Folio iv recto.
 scusono. Italian *scusare* had the meaning "avoid" just
 as did Spanish *escusar*.
 piggior.
 Folio iv verso.
 dolentia. Merely the old spelling of *dolenzia*.
 divitie. Old spelling of *divizie*. Why did Bandini
 think this Spanish?
 non le tenghono in cosa nessuna.
 interrano. Good in Old Italian.
 interramento. Probably good Old Italian. Not in the
 dictionaries.
 corichano.
 Folio v recto.
 alsì. Certainly not Spanish *así* or *ansí*.
 ho relato. Old Italian. Certainly not Spanish.
 allarghero.
 proficto. Old spelling of *profitto*.

Folio v verso.

larghi, in the sense of "lontani," is good Old Italian.

Folio vi recto.

alani. Not necessarily a Spanish word.

Folio vi verso.

senza conto.

Folio vii recto.

apparecchi.

allargharmi in epsi. Probably good Italian at the time.

Nowadays con would be used rather than in.

Folio vii verso.

rischattammo. Why should Varnhagen connect this form with Portuguese resgatar rather than with the common Italian verb riscattare?

calefatar.

correggemmo.

uolta, in the sense of "return," is good Old Italian.

Folio viii recto.

captiuauano.

rimediate.

Folio ix recto.

annegata. Good Old Italian. Does not necessarily point to Spanish anegada.

Folio ix verso.

commettemmo.

hauerla alla mano.

facemmo la uolta.

Folio x recto.

mandammo.

uarata in un rio. Varare in Old Italian was used in the sense of modern "approdare."

lo dauano di gratia.

Folio xi recto.

dispopulate.

di poi che.

Folio xi verso.

el poco damnato.

Folio xii recto.

perstanno. Probably a misreading for prestano as in M. Perstanno is certainly not Spanish though prestano may be, in the sense of "show profit."

Folio xiii recto.

maringare. This may be an italianization of Spanish marear, but certainly the word as it stands seems Italian rather than Spanish or Portuguese.

tormente.

intendera, in the sense of "will understand," is good Italian.

Folio xiii verso.

larghi al mare.

Folio xiv verso.

ammmainare.

tormentosa.

ricontare.

Folio xv verso.

camera, in the sense of "ricovero," "ridotto."

caragne may just as well stand for Italian carene as for Spanish carenas. But I am inclined to believe that the reading of M is correct: carnaggio.

monstro. Good Old Italian for mostro.

reggimento.

2. UNDOUBTED OR PROBABLE HISPANICISMS

From the above list it is apparent that we can somewhat reduce the number of hispanicisms claimed by Bandini, Canovai, and Varnhagen. I shall now give a list of other words, phrases, and idioms which seem to me undoubted hispanicisms. While it may be that some future investigator will find that a few of these, too, repre-

sent good Florentine usage of the early sixteenth century, nevertheless there will always remain a large residuum of purely Spanish words.

Folio i verso.

usada, where usata would be the correct Italian form. The *d* in the participial ending seems to betray Spanish influence.

ruogho. Spanish ruego.

mando, as a noun, is pure Spanish. The correct Italian is mandato, found below on this page. The M scribe sometimes substitutes mandato for this form, at other times he mistakes it for the preterite or present of mandare.

Folio ii recto.

patragne. Spanish patrañas.

di scanso represents Spanish descanso. Old Italian discanso meant something very different. It would be defined by modern scampo. This seems a clear instance of a substitution of the Italian cognate discanso instead of riposo which the sense demanded in order to translate Spanish descanso.

conquerir. Pure Spanish. I can find no Italian authority for conquerir. We should expect conquistare.

Calis. We should expect Cadice in Italian. This is an example of the interchange of *d* and *l* so common in Old Spanish. E.g. melecina alternating with medecina.

Folio ii verso.

abrigo. Pure Spanish.

cente, a misprint in P for conte. M has conte. Seems to represent Spanish cuentas. I cannot find that Italian conta had the meaning "bead." In a very few such cases the forms may be Portuguese, but I have already shown that there is no sure instance of a Portuguese form in the letter.

Folio iii recto.

ci despedimo di loro. Seems to represent Spanish *nos despedimos de ellos*, "we took leave of them." *Dispedire* is a good Old Italian form for the modern *spedire*, but the verb in Italian has a very different meaning from its Spanish cognate, and could not have been used in this sense.

in questo leuon uantaggio. A purely Spanish idiom.

Folio iii verso.

Leuon con loro le donne. *Llevar* would be the correct verb to use in this sense in Spanish. In Italian we should expect *menare*. This very common verb occurs only once in the text.

leuon . . . el mantenimiento. Here we should expect the verb *portare* in Italian. This verb does not occur once in the text. Instead we always have the Spanish verb "to carry."

coditia. Clearly Spanish *codicia*. We should expect *cupidità*.

cuple(sic), used in the sense of modern Italian "*conviene*," "*giova*." This form surely represents Spanish *cumple*. True, Italian *compire* could be used in the same sense, but the form here is undoubtedly Spanish. M has failed to understand it, and we find in that text *cimiple* (sic) which seems to confirm *cumple*.

uaziano. Certainly Spanish *vacían*. Again M misunderstands and writes *ueggiamo*.

Folio iv recto.

populatione in the sense of "town." Italian *popolazione* did not have this meaning, Spanish *poblazón* did.

Folio iv verso.

traendoui una figliola. *Trarre* seems to be used in the sense of its Spanish cognate *traer*. Again *menare* was to have been expected.

Folio v recto.

ad uno infermo . . . lo bagnauano. This is an instance of the typical "personal á" construction of the Spanish. That is, the preposition á used as the sign of the direct object. M contains several other examples of the construction. The preposition has been blindly retained in the Italian, where it is out of place.

lo cansauano. We should have expected stancavano. The form cansare is frequently used in Old Italian, where modern Italian has scansare, but the meaning is always "avoid," "shun," "dodge," etc., never "tire."

alchuna dimostra doro. Dimostra, not an Italian word, plainly represents Old Spanish demuestra, "sign," "indication."

Folio v verso.

doue leuamo grandissimo pericolo. A purely Spanish idiom.

istragho seems Spanish estrago rather than Italian strage.

dismanparate, and below dismanparando. Purely Spanish words, misunderstood by the M scribe.

al pie di in the sense of "about," "nearly." The phrase with this meaning is common in Old Spanish. The form pie was found in Italian as well as in Spanish. The whole phrase is not Italian in this sense.

Folio vi verso.

che sarebbe cosa largha raccontarle per minuto. Largo in Spanish means "long"; in Italian it meant "large," "wide," "broad," "liberal." It never signified "long" either in a literal or a figurative sense. Substitution of the cognate again.

discansatamente. Pure Spanish.

Folio vii recto.

folgato. Spanish folgado. No such word ever existed in Italian. The nearest approach is folleggiare.

Folio vii.

di basso del represents Spanish debaxo de. In Italian it might have been possible to write di basso a or di basso in, but sotto would have been the natural preposition to use.

sauidora. Pure Spanish where sapienza would have been correct.

brear, "to cover with pitch." Pure Spanish. Spalmare is the Italian equivalent. This is one of those terms of navigation which Vespucci might have used more naturally than the Italian word. But few of the hispanicisms in the text are of this sort.

stauamo giunti con un porto. Giunti con here corresponds to Spanish junto á, "near." We should have expected presso, vicino a, prossimo a, or something similar in the Italian. This is proved by the Latin which reads in H: prope portum unum. This I regard as a very decisive instance. Giunto con occurs frequently in the text in a way that makes no sense. I cannot believe that Vespucci, writing in Italian would ever have used the phrase. But supposing a translation, it would be natural for a bungling translator to substitute for Spanish junto the Italian cognate giunto. The preposition con was frequently used as a complement with the verb giungere.

stancar. The verb is used as a Spaniard would employ estancar "to stanch." We should expect in Italian stagnare or ristagnare. Italian did possess a verb stancare, though the better spelling is stangare, but this verb meant something very different, "to bar." Substitution of the cognate again.

Folio viii recto.

tornarli a loro terra. I cannot find that Italian tornare was ever thus used transitively. Spanish tornar was so used.

lingue, in the sense of "interpreters." Old Spanish and Portuguese *lengua* was so used. The closest meanings I can find for Italian *lingua* are "predicatore," "parlatore."

Folio ix recto.

cauo. Cauo is the Old Spanish orthography of *cabo*, "cape." We should expect *capo* in Italian. Cauo is the invariable spelling of the word in P. M sometimes has *capo*. The Italian ancestor of H must have had *capo*, hence the confusion between *capo* and *campo* mentioned above.

Folio ix verso.

leuatammo (sic). Leuantar is a purely Spanish verb. *barlouento*. Spanish.

Folio x recto.

che fu per acerto. I can explain the last two words only as representing Spanish *por acierto*.

allargammo, "we released." I cannot find that Italian *allargare* was ever used in this sense. Spanish *alargar* was commonly so used in the old language.

adonde, "where." Pure Spanish.

Folio x verso.

molto a minuto. This clearly represents Spanish *muy* or *mucho á menudo*, "frequently." The phrase in Italian would signify "very completely," which does not fit the context.

Folio xii verso.

rogaua, "I begged," "implored." Italian *rogare* was used only in a very technical legal sense with a widely different meaning. Another instance of two cognates with very divergent meanings in the two languages.

mercedes. This might represent Italian *mercedi*, were it not that the *s* as sign of the plural indicates Spanish *mercedes*.

non fui aconsigliato che venissi. The form suggests Spanish aconsejado rather than Italian consigliato.

stessi buono. Not good Italian. Represents Spanish estuviere bueno.

Folio xiii recto.

derrota, "route," "course." A Spanish word.

parchi. Spanish or Portuguese pargos.

aguazeri. Spanish aguaceros. The Italian word would be acquate.

turbonate. Spanish turbonadas.

Folio xiii verso.

fatesce. Spanish fatexas or Portuguese fateixas.

accertaua de pigliare. Accertare is used in the sense of Spanish acertar. The same is true of accertorono below.

Folio xiv recto.

doblassimo un cauo, "we rounded a cape." Italian doblare did not have this technical meaning.

in cima delli arbori. Spanish encima de.

Folio xiv verso.

cosa de minero. Minero is pure Spanish. The Italian is miniera.

quando gia el sole sandaua cercando allo equinoctio. The parallel passage in H reads: cum sol aequinoctio aporinquaret. Spanish acercar, often spelled cercar in Old Spanish, signified "to approach." Italian cercare meant "seek," "search," "encircle." Another instance of a possible substitution of the cognate destroying the sense.

allarbero seco, "with bare mast." Does seco represent Spanish seco or Italian secco? The phrase as a whole is clearly Spanish.

serrazon. An unitalian word. Spanish cerrazon, perhaps spelled serrazon.

Folio xv verso.

cauezuto, "stubborn," "obstinate." Spanish cauezudo, suduest. Pure Spanish.

Folio xvi recto.

surgidero. Pure Spanish.

facemmo rostro alla fortuna, "we faced fortune."

"Rostro in Spanish means "face." Italian rostro has retained only the meanings of Latin rostrum, "beak," "a stand for speakers."

badia, "abbey," represents a mistranslation of Spanish bahia, "bay," or else an erroneous copying of the same.

The M version has further retained a few hispanisms which P lacks, showing that their ancestors were even more corrupt in language. E.g.: vsadia, "daring," the P version misunderstands and confuses the passage; several more examples of the "personal á" construction of which I give one: tene all'huomo; di donde, suggesting Spanish de donde, where P has simply donde; non prestono, used in the Spanish sense of "to be of value," where P wrongly reads non perstanno; Manuel where P reads manouello; despedi where P reads expedii; lo che where P reads quello che.

3. LESS CERTAIN INSTANCES

In addition to these examples of Spanish influence which seem to me all but certain, there are numerous other cases where it is impossible to say whether the word belongs to the one language or the other. But in a text like P where the Spanish influence is so marked, we are led to suspect hispanisms here too.

Folio i verso.

dipoi dessere. We cannot say that this is bad Italian, but the influence of Spanish después de is suggested.

The almost universal use in this text of tenere with a

direct object instead of *avere* is strongly indicative of a Spanish original. In no individual case am I willing to say dogmatically that the Italian could not have used *tenere* instead of *avere*, the meanings "to have" and "to hold" are so close. In the whole text there are but three cases of *avere* taking the direct object. As in Spanish, its use is practically restricted to forming compound tenses. There has been a systematic avoidance of *avere* in favor of *tenere*, which is very unitalian.

Folio ii recto.

mandare, may be either Italian or Spanish.

Folio ii verso.

circa di, "about." Good Italian but in this text probably represents Spanish *cerca de*.

disnuda, "naked." This form is a possibility in Old Italian, though *nuda* or *ignuda* would be commoner. In this text it probably represents Spanish *desnuda*.

in costa braua. I hesitate to call this phrase unitalian, yet it seems very much more probably Spanish.

Folio iii recto.

come saliron del ventre di lor madri. In this text *salire* is always used in the sense of Spanish *salir*, "to emerge," "to come out of." It never means "to ascend" as in Italian. Furthermore the very common Italian verb *uscire* or *escire* is completely lacking in the text. The only reason I do not include *salire* in the list of certain hispanicisms is because there are proved instances where Italian *salire* signified "to emerge." Yet this meaning was so very rare that there is no instance of it in Monaci's chrestomathy of Old Italian texts. I therefore consider this use of *salire* another indication of the practice of substituting in the Italian words like in form to those of the Spanish original, even though divergent in meaning.

Folio iv verso.

moza uergine. Does moza represent Spanish moza or Italian mozza? Probably the former. I have been able to find no instance of Italian mozza in the sense of "girl," but as the dictionaries give the meaning "boy" for mozzo, there may well have existed a corresponding feminine form.

Folio vii verso.

uolta, "return." Volta and vuelta could both be so used.

Folio xii recto.

fumo a dare con una gente. In Spanish dar con signifies "to meet"; in Italian dare con means "to come to blows with." It is difficult to decide how best to translate the phrase here, but it seems to me to be used in the Spanish sense. The corresponding passage in H is: ad gentem quandam pervenimus.

donde is frequently used in the sense of dove, "where." This is the usual meaning of donde in Spanish, whereas in Italian donde usually means "whence," only rarely "where." That donde is here a Spanish word is rendered probable by the frequently recurring adonde, mentioned above. This can only be Spanish.

Folio xiii verso.

cose di riscatto. Good Italian words, but the phrase strongly suggests Spanish cosas de rescate.

traeua un gran palo. The whole phrase has a very Spanish look, yet we cannot call it positively unitalian. Palo generally, though not always, had a more specialized meaning in Italian. Bastone is the word usually employed in this sense.

Folio xiv verso.

cosa de proficto. Good Italian words, yet I strongly suspect the influence of Spanish cosa de provecho. The idiom is Spanish rather than Italian.

Folio xvi recto.

dipoi di salutata suggests Spanish después de saluada.

I omit from these lists numerous words belonging equally to the Italian and Spanish vocabularies and with identical meanings. Furthermore many of the examples given occur frequently where I give but one instance.

EVIDENCE THAT THE ITALIAN TEXTS ARE BASED UPON A SPANISH ORIGINAL

If the reader has had the patience to follow this unavoidably arid presentation of the facts, he is now in a position to form several conclusions based upon the examples chosen. First, we have established the fact that the text contains few if any Portuguese forms. Next, we have shown that many of the forms believed by previous investigators to be foreign were justified by contemporary Italian usage. But it was found that the instances of undoubted Spanish forms were indeed very numerous. So far we can be certain of the accuracy of our conclusions. The question now to be propounded is far more delicate. Were these Spanish forms such as would naturally be used by a Florentine, writing in his own language after a residence abroad of fourteen years? It must be remembered that Vespucci was capable of writing mediocre Latin and good Spanish. Or are they rather due to some bungling intermediary, translating from a Spanish original? This is hardly a question for the layman to decide. The matter should be passed upon by a jury of competent Romance philologists.

In giving the Spanish examples, the present writer has assumed the existence of such a Spanish original, by way of a working hypothesis. Does this theory explain the facts? He believes that it does and that the peculiarities of the text can be explained only on that assumption.

He believes, wholly apart from the statement to that effect in H which he regards as merely confirmatory, that there did exist some Spanish narrative upon which the Soderini Letter is wholly or in large part based. The reason for this belief must again be briefly stated. Where in the two languages, Spanish and Italian, there are found like or similarly spelled words with divergent meanings, the word in P (less frequently in M) is almost invariably Italian in form but Spanish in meaning. To recapitulate the most striking instances, it seems incredible that Vespucci, if composing in Italian, could have used as he did the following words and phrases: discanso, dispedire, levare, trarre, populatione, al pie di, largo, giunti con, stancar, cansar, per acerto, molto a minuto, rogare, doblare, in cima di, cercare, rostro, disnudo, salire, dare con, and others. My detailed comments upon these forms and their meanings may be consulted above. These are precisely the sort of blunders which a text critic recognizes as the errors of a translator. Vespucci could not have so forgotten his native tongue as not to know that in each of these cases the Spanish words meant one thing, and the Italian cognates of them another. He would have known, too, that an Italian reader would interpret these words and phrases in the Italian way. The dilemma is unavoidable: either Vespucci, the gifted navigator and astronomer, who wrote good Castilian, was a hopeless illiterate in his mother tongue, or else the errors in the Soderini Letter, of the sort mentioned, must be ascribed to a translator. The present writer cannot accept the first supposition.

Then there is the evidence of the so-called apocryphal letters. Varnhagen considered the presence of hispanisms in a document ascribed to Vespucci the touchstone whereby to determine its authenticity. He rejects the

three apocryphal letters, because, as he says, they contain no hispanicisms. Now, if my theory be correct, the presence of hispanicisms is no longer such a touchstone. However, Varnhagen is again wrong. Two of the three apocryphal letters which he prints do contain hispanicisms. Some of these are the same which occur in P, such as a literary forger might have imitated. Others are wholly new such as no Italian forger could have invented. On purely historical grounds Luigi Hughes and Uzielli contended that these letters were authentic.²¹ There is a growing tendency among scholars to accept them, especially the first two of them.

The first of the three letters, that printed by Bandini in 1745, was dated the 18th of July, 1500, and addressed to Lorenzo de' Pier Francesco de' Medici. In it I note the following certain or probable hispanicisms: *al pie di*, *Calis*, *salire* ("to emerge from"), *allegassimo a terra*, *cavo*, *popolazione* ("town"), *di basso di*, *di poi di*, *giunti con* ("near"), *origlia*, *disnudi*, *adonde*, *mattanza*, *gente di pace*, *lingue* ("interpreters"), *cansuda* ("tired"), *algotthon* (Spanish *algodón*, "cotton"), *discansare* ("to rest"). The second letter, that written to the same patron from the Cape Verde islands and dated the 4th of June, 1501 (first published by Baldelli in 1827) contains only the following: *cauo* and *ad albero secco*. Hispanicisms are lacking in the third, that written to the same patron from Lisbon in 1502 (first published by Bartolozzi in 1789); in fact the language is correct Italian. We find throughout *capo*, instead of *cauo*, *ignudi* instead of *disnudi*, *donde* in the sense of "whence" not "where," etc. In fact I can find in it nothing suggesting Spanish forms, except perhaps a tendency to use *tenere* instead of *avere*; but I hesitate to call this unitalian.

²¹ Hughes, *op. cit.*

This third letter is the one of the three whose authenticity is least probable. Like the others, it is not an autograph. It contains nothing new in the way of facts; but, on the other hand, its information does not stand in disagreement with that of the others. The second letter which is now generally believed to be authentic seems to be written in the kind of Italian which Vespucci might be expected to write. The few hispanisms in it are not of a sort to surprise. Such expressions as *cauo* for *capo*, and the nautical term *ad albero secco* would be hispanisms natural for an Italian navigator to employ. I find here nothing suggesting the process of erroneously retaining Spanish cognates in the Italian. The language as a whole is very different from that of P. While there may have been a process of italianization and modernization in the copying, I believe this to be a genuine document representing very closely the language of the original which could have had none of the characteristic blunders of P. These, had they existed in the original, would not all have been smoothed away by later copyists. I conclude with regard to letters two and three that if they are not genuine they do not affect my argument in the least; if they are genuine they offer evidence, with all allowance made for italianization in copying, that Vespucci was capable of writing intelligible Italian.

With regard to the first apocryphal letter the case is different. It is inconceivable how Varnhagen could have failed to observe Spanish words in this letter. They are present, and his argument for rejecting the document on the ground that such forms are not to be found in it falls to the ground. While admitting that the advocates of the *lingua franca* theory will find an additional argument in support of their theory, if they can prove the authenticity of another document containing a few his-

panicisms similar to those in P, nevertheless it would be just as natural for Vespucci to send Lorenzo de' Medici a translation in duplicate of a letter previously written in Spanish as it would be for him to send such a letter to Soderini. I repeat that this was the common labor-saving method employed by Vespucci and other early navigators.

Enough has been said to indicate the extremely complicated nature of this problem. One can never hope completely to elucidate such a matter as this. I have sought to argue the case pro and con, rather than to give a one-sided presentation. The reader may now form his own opinion. Whatever the difficulties in the way of accepting the theory of the existence of a Spanish original for the Soderini Letter, I cannot but feel that greater difficulties confront the critic who would contend that Vespucci himself wrote the absurd jargon found in the Italian versions of the Soderini Letter.

THE TRANSLATION

PREFATORY NOTE

All previous translations of the Soderini Letter into English have been made without reference to or knowledge of the important M version. Most have been based upon P alone. Yet any rendering of one of our three versions uncontrolled by the other two must of necessity be filled with error and incomplete. M-K, the scholarly translator employed by Bernard Quaritch, frequently availed himself of the Latin text, H, as a means of control for P; but as he had not seen M, he not only was deprived of the help which that version would have given, but also could not properly estimate the value of H. When P and H disagreed, he possessed no criterion which enabled him to decide which of two variant readings to accept. Nevertheless it is a pleasure to the present translator to acknowledge the general excellence of M-K's translation. He gratefully admits his indebtedness to it.

The translation which follows takes into account all three versions and is based upon them all, rather than on any one of them. Words or passages omitted by P and supplied by M or vice versa are placed in brackets. The notes will indicate from which of the two the reading is taken. When H contains a reading not found in the other two, but which seems to the editor rightly to belong in the original text, both brackets and italics have been employed. The italics indicate that the words thus printed while probably belonging in the text are never-

theless open to some suspicion. I have not thought it necessary to indicate either in the text or the notes numerous omissions in H of words or passages found in the Italian versions. I have been conservative in regard to the passages supplied from H, not including such words or simple phrases as might be ascribed to a natural redundancy on the part of the Latin translator. I have given the foliation of both P and M in order that any reader who may desire to compare the text with the facsimiles of these versions may readily do so.

The notes published after the translation have been reduced to the smallest possible compass. I have seldom indicated variant spellings of the same Italian word, but in the main the variants given are such as would affect the translation. These variants I give as *pièces justificatives*; they also enable a scholar to check my results. In case I have chosen wrongly between two possible readings, the reader familiar with Italian may consult the variants and form his own opinion.

The translation of a work so barbarous as the Soderini Letter presents many difficulties. The sentences are ungrammatical and involved; anacoluthons are numerous; the thought is frequently confused; there is much coordination and little subordination in the sentence structure; the style is always clumsy. Obviously, perfect literalness on the part of the translator is out of the question. On the other hand where one is dealing with a historical document fidelity is of more importance than elegance achieved at the expense of accuracy. In view of this dilemma I have deviated from literalness only when it seemed strictly necessary to do so. I have striven in the main to be accurate rather than elegant. It is therefore to be feared that some of the baldness and uncouthness of the original is reflected in the translation.

FIRST VOYAGE

(folio 1r, M)

[LETTER FROM AMERIGO VESPUCCI TO PIERO SODERINI,
GONFALONIERE. THE YEAR 1504]

(folio 1v, P) Magnificent Lord. After humble reverence and due greetings, etc. It may be that Your Magnificence will wonder at my rashness and the daring employed, in that I should so absurdly bestir myself to write to Your Magnificence the present so prolix letter, knowing that Your Magnificence is ever busied in the high 5
councils and [troublesome] affairs pertaining to the good government of this sublime republic. And you will deem me not only officious but likewise trifling in undertaking to write [*to you, too,*] things unbecoming your rank, nor 10
[yet] pleasing, in barbarous style and devoid of polite learning, things [*written expressly for Ferdinand, King of Castile.*] But the confidence which I have in your virtues and in the truth of my writing, which has to do with things [that] are not found written of either by the an- 15
cient [or by the modern] writers, as Your Magnificence will perceive in the sequel, makes me bold. And the principal reason which moved [me] to write to you arose through the entreaty of the present bearer who is named Benvenuto Benvenuti, our fellow Florentine, greatly de- 20
voted to Your Magnificence, as it appears, and a very good friend of mine; who, when here present in this city of Lisbon, besought me to inform Your Magnificence concerning the things by me seen in divers parts of the world (fol. 1v, M) by reason of four voyages which I 25
have made in discovering new lands: two by order of the [High] King of Castile, Don Ferdinand the Sixth, westward over the great expanse of the Ocean Sea; and

two more, southward, by command of the Puissant King,
Dom Manuel of Portugal; telling me that Your Magnifi-
cidence would take pleasure in it, and that in this matter
he hoped to serve you. Wherefore, I set about to do so,
5 because I feel assured that Your Magnificence holds me
among the number of your servants, when I recall how
in the time of our youth I was your friend, as now I
am your servant; and we used to go to hear the rudi-
ments of grammar under the good example and teaching
10 of the venerable monk of Saint Mark, Brother Giorgio
Antonio Vespucci, [my uncle.] Would to God that I
had followed his advice and teaching! [For,] as Petrarch
says: (fol. 2r, P) "I should be a different man from
that which I am." However that may be, I grieve not;
15 for I have ever delighted in virtuous things, and although
these trifles of mine may not be befitting your merits, I
will say to you as Pliny said to Maecenas: "Once upon
a time you were wont to take pleasure in my prattlings."
And although Your Magnificence is constantly busied in
20 affairs of state, you must occasionally take leisure to de-
vote a little time to vain and amusing things; and just as
it is customary to give fennel atop of delicious viands to
fit them for better digestion, so may you by way of relief
from your so numerous (fol. 2r, M) occupations order
25 [this my letter] to be read, that it may divert you
somewhat from the constant care and assiduous thought
which come of public affairs. And if I shall be prolix,
I crave pardon. [*Greetings.*]

My Magnificent Lord, Your Magnificence doubtless
30 knows [that] the reason of my coming to this realm of
Spain was to engage in commerce, and that I persisted in
this purpose about four years, during which I saw and
experienced the varied turns of Fortune, and how she
kept changing these frail and fleeting benefits, and how

at one time she holds man at the top of her wheel, and again hurls him from her, and deprives him of that wealth which may be called borrowed. So when I had come to know the constant toil which man exerts in gaining it, by subjecting himself to so many discomforts and perils, I 5 resolved to abandon trade, and to aspire to something more praiseworthy and enduring. So it came about that I arranged to go to see a portion of the world and its marvels. Time and place greatly favored me in this, for it happened that King Don Ferdinand of Castile, having 10 occasion to send four ships westward to discover new lands, I was chosen by His Highness to go in this fleet to aid in the discovery. And we set forth from the port of Cadiz, the 10th of May, 1497, and set our course over the great expanse of the Ocean Sea, in which voyage we 15 spent 18 months; and we discovered much continental land and islands without number, and a great share of them inhabited, of which no mention is made by the ancient (fol. 2v, M) writers; because they had no knowledge [of them,] I believe. For, if I remember rightly, 20 I have read in some one of these that he held that the Ocean Sea was devoid of inhabitants; and of this opinion was Dante, our poet, in the 26th chapter of the Inferno, where he invents the death of Ulysses. On this voyage I saw things of great wonder, as Your Magnificence will 25 hear.

As I said above, we departed from the port of Cadiz, four consort ships, (fol. 2v, P) and began our cruise straight for the Isles of the Blest, which are to-day called the Grand Canary, which are situated in the Ocean Sea 30 at the end of the inhabited west, set in the third climate, above which the north pole has an elevation of $27 \frac{2}{3}$ degrees over their horizon; and they are 280 leagues distant from this city of Lisbon, [*in which this present work is*

written,] on the course between south and south-west. [There] we lingered eight days, providing ourselves with water and wood and other necessary things. And from here, having said our prayers, we started and set
5 sail, beginning our voyage toward the west, taking one quarter by southwest. And we sailed until after 37 days we reached a land which we judged to be continental, which is distant westward from the Canary Isles about one thousand leagues beyond the inhabited region, within
10 the torrid zone; because we found the north pole elevated 16 degrees above its horizon, and westward of the Canary Isles, as our instruments showed, (fol. 3r, M) 75 degrees. Here we anchored our ships a league and a half off land; and we cast off our boats laden with men and
15 arms. We proceeded toward land, and before we reached it, sighted many people who were walking along the shore, whereat we greatly rejoiced. And we found them to be a naked race. They showed fear of us, I think because they saw us [clothed] and of an appearance dif-
20 ferent [from theirs.] All withdrew to a mountain, and, in spite of all the signs of peace and friendship we made to them, they would not come to converse with us. So, inasmuch as night was already falling, and because the ships were anchored in a perilous place, being on a for-
25 bidding coast and without shelter, we resolved to betake ourselves thence on the morrow and to go in quest of some port or bay where we might place our ships in safety. And we sailed north-west, for thus the coast trended, ever in sight of land, continually seeing people
30 along the beach, until, after having voyaged two days, we found a tolerably safe place for the ships. And we anchored a half league from shore, where we saw an immense number of people. And this same day we went ashore with the boats. And we leaped ashore, full 40

well equipped men, and the people ashore still showed themselves shy of associating with us. And we could not so reassure them that they would come to talk with us. And this day we so persistently endeavored in giving them of our wares, such as bells, mirrors, glass beads and other 5 (fol. 3v, M) trash that some of them were rendered confident, and came (fol. 3r, P) to converse with us. And when we had established kindly relations with them, inasmuch as night was falling, we took leave of them and returned to the ships. And the next day, when dawn 10 broke, we saw that infinite hordes were on the beach; and they had with them their wives and children. We put ashore and found that all came laden with their possessions, which are such as will be told in its place. And before we reached land, many of them dove and came 15 [to meet] us a cross-bow shot out to sea, for they are very great swimmers, with just as much confidence as if they had associated with us for a long time. And we were pleased at this confidence of theirs. [*Inasmuch as the opportunity offers, we weave into our narrative, here and in 20 other places, those of their customs which we saw them possessed of.*]

What we ascertained concerning their manner of life and customs was that they go about wholly naked, men and women alike, without covering any shameful part, not 25 otherwise than they issued from their mothers' wombs. They are of medium stature, very well proportioned. Their skin is of a color which inclines to red, like a lion's mane; and I believe that if they went clothed, they would be white like ourselves. They have no hair at all on the 30 body, except long and black hair on the head, especially the women, which renders them beautiful. They are not very fair of countenance, because they have broad faces, so that their appearance may be that of the Tartar. They

do not let any hair [grow] in the eyebrows [nor] in the eyelashes, nor in any other place [whatsoever,] exception made of the hair of the head; for they hold hair to be something ugly. They are very swift of their
5 bodies, in walking and in (fol. 4r, M) running, both men and women; for a woman reckes nothing of running a league or two, as we frequently saw; and in this they have a very great advantage over us Christians. They swim past all belief, and the women better than the men;
10 because many times we have found and seen them swimming along two leagues out at sea without any support. Their weapons are bows and arrows, very well wrought, except that they have no iron or other sort of hard metal; and in place of iron they put animals' or fishes' teeth or
15 a splinter of stout wood burnt at the tip. They are sure shots, for they hit wherever they please; and in some places the women use these bows. And they have other weapons, such as fire-hardened spears and other clubs with knobs of most excellent workmanship. They practise war among themselves with peoples who are not of
20 their own speech, very cruelly, without sparing anybody's life except for a greater punishment (fol. 3v, P). When they go to war, they take with them their wives; not that these may wage war, but because they carry their supplies
25 after [them]. For one woman bears on her back a burden such as no man will carry, thirty or forty leagues; for we often saw it. It is not their custom to have any captain, nor do they walk in orderly array; for each is master of himself. And the occasion of their wars is not
30 desire of rule, nor to widen their boundaries, nor [any] inordinate covetousness; it is due merely to some old hostility which in the past [has sprung up among them]. And, when asked why they waged war, they could give us no other reason than that they did so to avenge the

death of their ancestors] or of their parents. These have
neither king nor master (fol. 4v, M), nor do they obey
anybody; for they live in their individual liberty. And
the way in which they are incited to go to war is that when
the enemy has killed or captured some of them, his eldest 5
relative rises and goes through the streets, exhorting them
to go with him to avenge the death of such and such a
relative of his; and thus they are stirred by pity. They
do not practise justice, nor punish the criminal, nor do
father and mother punish their children; and whether or 10
not it was something unusual, we never saw disputing
amongst them. They show themselves simple in their
speech, yet they are very crafty and sharp in that which
comes within their province. They speak little and with
subdued voice. They use the same accents as ourselves, 15
because they form the words either on the palate, or the
teeth, or the lips, except that they use other names for
things. Great are the varieties of dialects, for at every
hundred leagues we found a change of tongues such that
these were mutually unintelligible. The manner of their 20
living is very barbarous, because they do not eat at fixed
times, but as often as they please. And it matters little
to them that they should be seized with a desire to eat at
midnight rather than by day, for at all times they eat.
And their eating is done upon the ground, without table- 25
cloth or any other cloth, because they hold their food
either in earthen basins which they make or in half
gourds. They sleep in certain nets made of cotton, very
big, and hung in the air. And although this their way of
sleeping may appear uncomfortable, I say that it is a soft 30
(fol. 5r, M) way to sleep; [because it was very frequently
our lot to sleep] in them, and we slept better in them than
in quilts. They are people neat and clean of person, ow-
ing to the constant washing they practise. When, begging

your pardon, they evacuate the bowels, they do everything to avoid being seen; and just as in this they are (fol. 4r, P) clean and modest, the more dirty and shameless are they in making water [both men and women].

5 Because, even while talking to us, they let fly such filth, without turning around or showing shame, that in this they have no modesty. They do not practise marriage amongst themselves. Each one takes all the wives he pleases; and when he desires to repudiate them, he does

10 repudiate them without it being considered a wrong on his part or a disgrace to the woman; for in this the woman has as much liberty as the man. They are not very jealous, and are libidinous beyond measure, and the women far more than the men; for I refrain out of

15 decency from telling you the trick which they play to satisfy their immoderate lust. They are very fertile women, and in their pregnancies avoid no toil. Their parturitions are so easy that one day after giving birth they go out everywhere, and especially to bathe in the

20 rivers; and they are sound as fish. They are so heartless and cruel that, if they become angry with their husbands, they immediately resort to a trick whereby they kill the child within the womb, and a miscarriage is brought about, and for this reason they kill a great many babies.

25 They are (fol. 5v. M) women of pleasing person, very well proportioned, so that one does not see on their bodies any ill-formed feature or limb. And although they go about utterly naked, they are fleshy women, and that part of their privies which he who has not seen them

30 would think to see is invisible; for they cover all with their thighs, save that part [for] which nature made no provision, and which is modestly speaking, the *mons veneris*. In short they are no more ashamed [of their shameful parts] than we are in displaying the nose and

mouth. Only exceptionally will you see a woman with drooping breasts, or with belly shrunken through frequent parturition, or with other wrinkles; for all look as though they had never given birth. They showed themselves very desirous of copulating with us Christians. While 5 among these people we did not learn that they had any religion. They can be termed neither Moors nor Jews; and they are worse than heathen; because we did not see that they offered any sacrifice, nor yet did they have [any] house of prayer. I deem their manner of life to 10 be Epicurean. Their dwellings are in common, and their houses built after the fashion of huts, but stoutly wrought and constructed out of very large trees and thatched with palm leaves, safe against tempests and winds, and in some places of such breadth [and length] that in a single house 15 we found there were 600 souls; [and we saw towns of only thirteen (fol. 4v, P) houses where there were 4,000 souls]. Every eight to ten years they shift their towns. (fol. 6r, M). And when asked why [they put themselves to so much trouble, they made us a very plausible answer. 20 They said that] they did so on account of the soil, which, when once rendered infectious and unhealthful by filth, occasioned disease in their bodies, which seemed to us a good reason. Their wealth consists of feathers of many-hued birds, or of little rosaries which they make out of 25 fish bones, or of white or green stones which they stick through cheeks, lips, and ears, and of many other things to which we attach no value. They engage in no barter [whatsoever]; they neither buy nor sell. In short, they live and are contented with what nature gives them. The 30 wealth which we affect in this our Europe and elsewhere, such as gold, jewels, pearls, and other riches, they hold of no value at all; and although they have them in their lands they do not work to get them, nor do they care for them.

They are so [liberal] in giving that it is the exception when they deny you anything; and, on the other hand, [they are free] in begging, when they show themselves to be your friends. But the greatest token of friendship which
5 they show you is that they give you their wives and daughters; and when a father or a mother brings you the daughter, although she be a virgin, and you sleep with her, they esteem themselves highly honored; and in this way they practise the full extreme of hospitality. When
10 they die, they employ various sorts of obsequies, and some they bury with water and food at their heads, thinking that they will have the wherewithal to eat. They neither have nor observe ceremonies of tapers or lamentation. In some other places they practise the most barbarous (fol. 6v, M) and inhuman burial, which is [that],
15 when a sick or suffering person is as it were at the last [pass] of death, his relatives carry him into a great forest, and attach to two trees one of those nets of theirs in which they sleep, and then put him into it, and dance
20 around him for a whole day. And at nightfall they place at his bolster water with other food sufficient to maintain one four or six days; and then they leave him alone, and return to the town. And if the sick man by his own efforts aids himself, and eats, and drinks, and lives, he
25 returns to the town, and his own receive him ceremoniously; but few there are who escape; without further visit they die, and that is their tomb. And they have many other customs which are not related through fear of prolixity. They use in their sicknesses various kinds
30 of medicines, so different (fol. 5r, P) from ours that we marvelled how anyone escaped; for I often saw how they would bathe from head to foot, with much cold water, one sick of fever, even when he had one that was rising. Then they would build a great fire around him, causing

[him] to be turned over again and again for two more hours, until they wearied him and permitted him to sleep; and many would recover. In addition to this they make much use of dieting, for they remain three days without eating, and also of blood-letting, but not from the arm, 5 only from the thighs, loins, and the calf of the leg. Then, too, they provoke vomiting with herbs of theirs which are put into the mouth; and they use many other remedies which it would be tedious to relate. They are much vitiated in the phlegm and in the blood because (fol. 7r, M) 10 of their food, which consists for the most part of roots, herbs, fruit, and fish. They have no seed of wheat, nor of other grains, and for their common [use and] diet [they use] the root of a tree, of which they make flour; and it is tolerably good, and they call it *Iuca*; and there 15 are other roots which they call *Carabi*, and others, *Ignami*. They eat little flesh, other than human flesh; for Your Magnificence must know that in this matter they are so inhuman that they exceed every custom of the beasts; because they eat with such savagery all [their] enemies 20 whom they kill or capture, both males and females, that to relate it seems a terrible thing; how much more to behold it as it was my fate to see it at very many times and in many places! And they wondered when they heard us say that we do not eat our enemies. And let Your Mag- 25 nificence consider this as certain. Their other barbarous customs are so numerous that the narrative falls short of the reality. And because on these four voyages [of mine] I have seen so many things different from our manners, I undertook to write a book which I call *The Four Journeys* 30 in which I have related the greater part of the things by me seen with tolerable clarity, as my feeble ability has led me. This I have not yet published, because I am so ill-pleased with my own things that I take no delight in those

which I have written, even though many are urging me to publish it. In this everything will appear in detail, so I shall not expatiate at greater length in this chapter; for in the course of the letter we shall come to many (fol. 5v, M) other things which are matters of detail. [*I now return to the completing of this our first voyage from which I have digressed a bit*]; let this suffice as to generalities. At this the outset we saw nothing of much advantage in the land, except some show of gold, [*which several indications showed to exist in that land.*] I think the reason for this was that we did not know the language; because, as for the situation and condition of the land, this cannot be improved upon. We decided to leave and push ahead (fol. 5v, P), ever skirting the shore, upon which we made frequent landings and held converse with many people. And after some days we reached a harbor where we underwent very great peril; but it pleased the Holy Ghost to save us, and it was in this wise. We entered into a harbor where we found a town built over the water like Venice; there were about 20 large houses after the fashion of huts based upon very thick piles, and they had their doors or house entrances in the form of drawbridges which they threw down from house to house. And when the inhabitants of these saw us, they showed fear of us, and speedily raised all the bridges, [*and then hid themselves in their houses*]. And while engaged in beholding this marvel, we saw coming over the sea about 12 canoes, which are a kind of boat of theirs made of a single tree, which made toward our boats as if they were astonished at our form and dress; and they kept wide of us. And while matters stood thus, we made them signs to come to us, reassuring them (fol. 8r, M) with every token of friendship. And seeing that they did not come, we went to them; and they did not

stay for us, but went to land, and by signs told us to wait and that they would immediately return. And they went behind a hill, and it was not long before they returned. They brought with them 16 of their girls, and with them entered their canoes, and came to the boats; and in each of 5 our boats they put four, so that we were as astonished at this act as Your Magnificence may well believe. And they thrust themselves with their canoes in among our boats, coming along in conversation with us, so that we deemed it a mark of friendship. While thus engaged, we saw 10 many people who came from the houses advance swimming over the sea; and as they kept gradually approaching us, without any suspicion on our part, straightway there appeared at the doors of the houses [certain old] women, uttering very loud outcries and tearing their hair, giving 15 indication of great sadness; [on account of] which they rendered us suspicious, and each of us had recourse to his weapons. And in a jiffy the girls whom we had in our boats dove into the sea, and those in the canoes made away from us, and began with their bows to shoot arrows at us. 20 And each of those who came swimming carried a lance below the water in the most covert manner possible; so that, when the treachery was once recognized, we began not only to defend ourselves against them, but sharply to attack them; and we swamped with our boats many of 25 their *almadie* or canoes, for so they call them (fol. 8v, M). We did much execution [among them], and all took to swimming, leaving their canoes abandoned; with considerable (fol. 6r, P) loss on their side, they went swimming away to land. About 15 or 20 of them died, and 30 many [remained] wounded; and on our side five were wounded, and all recovered, praise be to God. We captured two of the girls and three men; and we went to their houses, and entered them; and in all we found only

two old women and one sick man. We took from them many things, but of slight value, and did not care to burn their dwellings, because it seemed to us sinful, and returned to our boats with five prisoners. And we went to
5 the ships, and put a pair of irons on the feet of each of the prisoners, making an exception in the case of the girls. And on the ensuing night the two girls and one of the men escaped in the cleverest way in the world. And the next day we resolved to quit this harbor and go
10 further on our way. We went constantly skirting the coast until we saw another race which might be distant 80 leagues from this other; and we found it to be very different in speech and manners. We decided to anchor, and went ashore with the boats, and saw on the beach a
15 great multitude which might amount to approximately 4,000 souls. And when we reached the shore, they did not await us, but began to flee through the forests, abandoning [every] possession of theirs. We leaped ashore, and advanced along a path which led to the wood; and
20 at a distance of a bow-shot we found their huts, where they had built very great fires, and where they were cooking their (fol. 9r, M) food and roasting many animals and fish of many kinds. There we perceived that they were roasting a certain beast which resembled a
25 serpent except that it had no wings, and so ugly in appearance that we wondered greatly at its fierceness. Going in this way through [their houses, or rather] huts, we found many of these serpents still alive; and they were bound at the feet and had a cord around the muzzle
30 so that they could not open their mouths, just as is done with mastiffs that they may not bite. They were so fierce in appearance that none of us dared take one away, thinking them poisonous; they are the size of a kid, and an ell and a half in length; they have long, thick feet,

armed with great claws; they have a hard skin, and are
variegated in color; they have the snout and face of a
snake, and from their nose starts a saw-like crest which
passes on over the middle of the back to the tip of the
tail; in short, we deemed them to be serpents and poison- 5
ous; and yet they ate them. We found that they made
bread of little fish which they caught in the sea, by first
boiling them, [and then] pounding them and making [of
them] dough or a loaf, and these they would roast over
coals. Thus they ate them (fol. 6v, P); we tried it, and 10
found that it was good. They had so many other sorts of
food, and especially of fruits and roots, that it would be
a long matter [to] enumerate them in detail. And in view
of the fact that the people (fol. 9v, M) did not return
[*from the forests in which they had taken refuge*], we de- 15
cided not to touch or remove any thing of theirs, in order
the better to reassure them; and we left for them [in
these] huts many of our things in a place where they
could see them, and returned at night to the ships. And
the next day at dawn we saw on the shore numerous 20
people, and we landed; and although they showed them-
selves afraid of us, nevertheless they plucked up courage
[and began] to trade with us, giving us all we asked of
them, and showing themselves very friendly to us. They
told us that these were [not] their dwellings, and that 25
they had come here to fish; and they besought us to go to
their towns, because they wanted to receive us as friends.
And they engaged in such friendship on account of the
two captive men whom we had with us as prisoners, who
were their enemies. So, in view of such insistent entreaty 30
on their part, 23 of us Christians, having held a council,
resolved to go with them, in good array, and with firm
intent, if necessary it should be, to die [like brave men.]
And after we had remained here [about] three days, we

accompanied them inland. And three leagues from the beach we came upon a town, tolerably well populated, but of few houses, because [there were only] nine. There we were received with so many, many barbarous ceremonies that the pen does not suffice to note [them]; namely: dances, songs, lamentations mingled with rejoicing, and abundant food. And here we spent the night, where they offered us their women whom we could not refuse to accept of them. And after having remained here (fol. 10r, M) the night and half of the next day, so numerous were the throngs who out of curiosity came to see us that they were beyond counting. And the elders begged us to go with them to other towns which were farther inland, evincing an intention of paying us very great honor; wherefore we resolved to go; and I cannot tell you all the honor they did us. And we went to many towns until we were gone nine days on the journey, and until our fellow-Christians who had remained on the ships had already grown anxious concerning us; and when we were about 18 leagues inland, we resolved to return to the ships. And on the return the people who came with us to the sea, both men and women, were so numerous that it was a wonderful thing; and if any one of us grew wearied of the journey, they would carry us in their nets very comfortably; and on fording the rivers, which are numerous and very large, they would carry us over by means of their contrivances so safely that we ran no risk. (fol. 7r, P) And many of them came laden with the things which they had given us, which were: their sleeping-nets, very rich plumage, many bows and arrows, and numerous parrots of varied hue; and others they brought [with them] laden with their own supplies and with animals. What greater wonder can I tell you than that one considered himself very lucky, who, having

to ford a river, could carry us on his back. And as soon as we reached the sea and came [to] our boats, we entered them; and such was the press which they made to enter the boats and come to see our ships that they [almost] swamped our boats [*with their weight*]. And in the boats we carried all of (fol. 10v, M) them that we could, and we went to the ships; and so many came swimming that we were embarrassed to see so many people in our ships; for they numbered more than a thousand souls, all naked and without weapons. They were astonished at our gear and contrivances and the hugeness of the ships. And with them there befell us a very laughable incident, which was that we resolved to fire off some of our cannon; and when the report burst forth, most of them through fear jumped into the sea, not unlike frogs on a bank, which, when they see something terrifying, jump into the marsh; so those people did; and those who remained on the ships were so timorous that we repented of such a deed; nevertheless we reassured them by telling them that with those weapons we slew our enemies. And after they had idled all day on the ships, we told them to be off, because we wanted to leave that night; and thus they parted from us with much friendship and love, and set out for the shore. Among these people and in their land I learned and saw so many of their customs and ways of life that I do not care to expatiate at greater length upon them. Because Your Magnificence must know that on each of my voyages I have noted down the most marvellous things and have brought all into a volume after the manner of a geography; and I entitle it *The Four Journeys*; in this work these matters are treated in detail; and as yet no [copy] of it has been published, because I must revise it. This land is most populous and filled with people, and an infinite number of animals; [and very] few are like ours,

except the lions, panthers, stags, boars, goats, and deer;
and even these have some dissimilarities of form; (fol.
11r, M) they have no horses or mules, nor saving your
reverence, asses or dogs, nor any kind of sheep or oxen;
5 but so numerous are the other animals which they have
(and all are wild, and they employ none for their service)
that they cannot be counted. What shall we say of the
(fol. 7v, P) birds, too, which are so numerous, of so
many varieties and colors of plumage that it is a wonder
10 to behold them? The land is very pleasing and fertile,
full of huge forests and woods, and is always green, for
it never loses its foliage. The fruits are so many that
they are beyond number, and altogether different from
ours. This land is within the Torrid Zone, [close to or
15 under the parallel which the Tropic of Cancer describes,
where] the Pole [has an elevation] above the horizon
of 23 degrees at the extremity of the second climate.
Many races came to see us, and they marvelled at our
appearance and at the whiteness of our complexion. They
20 asked us whence we came, and we gave them to under-
stand that we came from heaven and that we were going
to see the world; and they believed it. In this [land] we
erected a baptismal font, and numbers of people were
baptized. And they called [us] in their tongue *Caraibi*,
25 which means men of great wisdom. We quitted this port
(the province is called Parias), and sailed along the
coast, ever in sight of land, until we sailed past 870
leagues of it, ever to the north-west, making many stops
along it, and trading with many people; and in many
30 places we obtained gold by barter, but not in great quan-
tity, for we did sufficient in discovering the land and in
learning that they had gold. [And since] we had (fol.
11v, M) been 13 months on the voyage, and already the
ships and the rigging were much consumed, and the men

wearied, we resolved with common accord to haul up
our vessels, and to inspect them with a view to stopping
the leaks, for they were making much water, and to calk
and smear them with pitch again, and to return thence on
the route to Spain. And when we reached this decision, 5
we had come upon a port, the best in the world, into
which we entered with our ships. There we found numer-
ous people, who received us with much kindness. And
we built on land a bastion out of our boats, barrels, casks,
and artillery, which had a free range in all directions. 10
And when our ships were disburdened and lightened, we
pulled them ashore and repaired them in every way that
was necessary. And the natives gave us the greatest help;
and they continually provided us with their food, so that
in this port we wasted little of our own, a great advantage 15
to us, because the stores that we had for the return voyage
were scanty and wretched. There we stayed 37 days,
and we went frequently to their towns where they paid
us the greatest deference. And when we sought to leave
on our voyage, they complained to us that at certain sea- 20
sons of the year a very cruel race, their enemies, came
over the sea into this their land, and by cunning or (fol.
8r, P) violence slaughtered and ate many of them; and
some they would capture and carry prisoner to their abode
or country; and they said that they could with difficulty 25
defend themselves against them, indicating to us by signs
that they were an island people and might be 100 leagues
out to sea; and so earnestly did they tell us this that we
believed them. And we promised them (fol. 12r, M) to
avenge them of all this wrong, and they [remained very] 30
pleased at this; and many of them volunteered [to] come
with us; but we did not wish to take them for many rea-
sons, except seven whom we did take on condition that
they would follow after in canoes, because we did not care

to incur the obligation of restoring them to their country; and they assented. And thus we took leave of these people, leaving them our very good friends. And having repaired our ships, we sailed, for seven days out to sea
5 on a course between north-east and east; at the end of the seven days we came upon the islands which were numerous, some inhabited and others deserted. And we anchored at one of these, where we saw many people who called it Iti. And having packed our boats with trusty
10 men, and put in each three rounds for the mortars, we put toward shore. There we found that there were about 400 men and many women, all naked like the previous ones. They were of good bodily build, and indeed seemed warlike men, because they were armed with their weapons,
15 namely: bows, arrows, and lances; and most of them had square, wooden shields; and they so wore them that they did not interfere with their bending of the bow. And when we went with our boats to within about a bow-shot's distance from shore, all leaped into the water [and began]
20 to shoot arrows at us to prevent us from jumping ashore. And all their bodies were painted with various colors and befeathered with plumage. And the interpreters who came with us told us that when they presented themselves thus painted and befeathered they gave sign of a
25 willingness to fight. And they persisted so long in preventing us from landing (fol. 12v, M) that we were forced to discharge our artillery; and when they heard the report and saw some of their number falling dead, all withdrew to the land. Wherefore, having formed
30 our plan, 42 of us resolved to jump ashore, and, if they awaited us, to fight with them. So, jumping ashore with our weapons, they came at us, and we fought about an hour, in such a way as to gain little advantage over them, except that our cross-bow-men and arquebusiers killed

some of them; and they wounded certain ones on our side. And this was because they would not stand to receive us within range of lance or sword; but at last we put forth so much vigor that we came to (fol. 8v, P) sword-range. And when they tasted our weapons, they took to flight 5 over hills and through forests, and left us victors of the field with many of them dead and a good number wounded. And as for this day we made no further effort to pursue them, because we were very wearied; and we returned to the ships with such joy on the part of the 10 seven men who had come with us that they could not contain themselves. And when the next day came, we saw coming over the land a great number of people, still with the insignia of battle, sounding horns and various other instruments which they use in war, and all painted and 15 befeathered, so that it was a very strange sight to see them. Wherefore all the ships held council, and it was decided that, since these people wished hostility with us, we should go to reason with them and do every thing to make them friends; in case they should not desire our 20 friendship, we should treat them as enemies and all of them that we might capture should be our slaves. (fol. 13r, M) And having armed ourselves as best we could, we put in to shore; and they did not oppose our landing, through fear of the mortars, I think. And 57 of us men 25 leaped ashore, in four squads, each captain with his command; and we came to blows with them. And after a long battle, having slain many of them, we put them to flight, and we continued in pursuit of them up to a town, having captured about 250 of them. We burned the town, 30 and returned victorious and with 250 prisoners to the ships, leaving many of them dead and wounded; and on our side only one died, and 22 were wounded, all of whom recovered, praise be to God. We arranged our departure,

and the seven men, five of whom were wounded, took a canoe from the island, and with seven prisoners whom we gave them, four women and three men, returned to their land very happy, marvelling at our might. And we
5 too set sail from Spain, with 222 slave prisoners; and we reached the port of Cadiz on the 15th day of October, 1498, where we were well received and sold our slaves. These are the most noteworthy events which befell me on this our [first] voyage.

SECOND VOYAGE

(fol. 9r, P) As for the second voyage and what I saw on it most worthy of memory, the following is the account: [*Beginning this voyage, then*], we left the port of Cadiz, three consort ships, on the 16th day of May, 1499, and began our course straight toward the Cape Verde 5 isles, passing in sight of the Grand Canary island; and we sailed until we came to an island which is called the Isle of Fire. And there, having taken on our stock of water and wood, we set our course to the south-west. (fol. 13v, M) And in 44 days we came to a new land; and we 10 judged it to be a continent and adjoining that [of which] mention is made above, which is situated within the Torrid Zone and to the southward of the equator, above which the South Pole has an altitude of five degrees beyond every clime; and it is 500 leagues distant from the said 15 isles by the south-western course. And we found that the days were equal to the nights; because we reached it on the 27th [day] of June, when the sun is near the Tropic of Cancer. This land we found to be [wholly watered and full of huge rivers,] [very green and with 20 very high trees.] At this, the outset, we saw no people. We anchored our ships, and having put out our boats, we went ashore with these, and, as I say, found the land full of huge rivers and [all] watered (fol. 9v, P) with very large streams which we discovered. And we approached 25 it in many places to see whether we might enter along it; and owing to the great floods which the rivers carried down, in spite of all the effort which we devoted to it, we could find no spot which was not flooded [with water.] [We saw along the rivers many indications that the land 30 was peopled. And having seen that] there was no land-

ing-place [in this] quarter, we resolved to return to the ships and approach it elsewhere. [And having returned to the ships,] we weighed our anchors, and sailed between east and south-east, always skirting the land, which inclined in this direction, and we approached it in many places over a distance of 40 leagues; and all was time lost. We found that on this coast the sea currents were so violent as not to permit us to navigate; and all flowed from the south-east to the north-west. (fol. 14r, M)

10 So, in view of so many hindrances to our sailing, we held council, and resolved to deflect [our] course to the direction of the north-west. And we sailed along the shore until we came to a most beautiful port, which was caused by a large isle that was at the entrance, and within was

15 formed a huge bay. And while skirting the island as we sailed to enter it, we sighted many people; and rejoicing we steered our ships thither to anchor where we saw the people, who were perhaps about four leagues farther out to sea. And thus sailing, we sighted a canoe

20 coming from the high sea in which came many people, and we determined to capture it. And we turned our ships toward it, taking care not to lose it; and as we sailed toward it with a fresh wind, we saw that they were resting with lifted oars, owing to the surprise which our

25 ships occasioned, I think. And when they perceived that we kept gradually approaching them, they dipped their oars into the water, and began to sail for the shore. And inasmuch as there was in our fleet a caravel of 45 tons, a very good sailer, she took a position to windward of

30 the canoe, and when it seemed [to us] time to bear down upon it, she eased her sheets and bore down upon it, and we did the same. And inasmuch as the little caravel came abreast of it and did not wish to hit it, she passed it by, and [then] remained to leeward. And when (fol. 14v,

M) they saw themselves at an advantage, they began to ply their oars to escape; and we who were keeping the stern boats already manned with capable men, thinking that they would take it, [*speedily advanced against them*]. They toiled more than two hours, and at last, if the little 5 caravel (fol. 10r, P) had not turned upon it another time, we should have lost it. And when they saw themselves hard pressed by the caravel and by the boats, all, who might number 70 men, dove into the sea; and they were distant from land about two leagues. And pursuing 10 them in boats, during the whole day we could capture only two, which was due to chance; the others all got ashore in safety. In the canoe remained four youths, not of their race, whom they were bringing captive from [the] other shore; and they had castrated them, for all were without 15 the [virile] member, and the wound was fresh, at which we marvelled much. When brought aboard ship, they told us by signs that their enemies had taken them in order to eat them; and we learned [that] they were a race called Caniballi, and very cruel, because they eat human 20 flesh. We went with the ships toward land, taking with us the canoe which we towed at the stern, and anchored a half league off. And as we saw many people ashore on the beach, we landed with the boats, and took with us the two men whom we captured. And when we reached 25 shore, all the people fled and entered the forests. And we released one of the men, giving him many bells, [*cymbals*, and some mirrors, and told him to go and reassure the people *who had run away*], since we wished to be their friends. He did (fol. 15r, M) very well [what] 30 we ordered him, and brought [with him] all the people, who might number 400 men and many women. They came without any weapons to the place where we stood with the boats; and having established good friendship

with them, we surrendered to them the other prisoner, and sent to the ships for their canoe, and gave it to them. This canoe was 26 paces long, and wide as two arms can stretch, and all dug out of a single tree, and very well
5 wrought. And when they had grounded it in a stream, and put it in a safe place, all ran away and would have nothing more to do with us, which seemed to us a wholly brutal act, so that we judged them a race of little faith and of evil disposition. We perceived that these people
10 had in their ears some slight amount of gold. We departed hence, and [*having sailed along the coast about 80 leagues, found a certain safe ship anchorage.*] We entered inside the bay, where we found so many people that it was a wonder. We established friendship with
15 these, on shore, and many of us went very safely to their towns, and were well received. At this spot we traded for 150 pearls, which they gave us for a bell, and for some little gold which they gave us gratis; and in this land we learned that they drank wine made of their
20 fruits and seeds, like beer, both white and red; and the best was made of *mirabolani*, and was very good; and (fol. 10v, P) of these last we ate many, for it was the season for them; it is a very good fruit, savory to the taste and healthful to the body. The soil is very bounti-
25 ful in yielding them what they require, and the people of kindly intercourse, and the most peaceful that we have found up to the present. (fol. 15v, M) We remained in this port 17 days with much enjoyment; and every day new peoples from the inland country came to see us,
30 marvelling at our appearance and whiteness, our dress and weapons, and the shape and hugeness of the ships. From these people we obtained news that there was a tribe more to the west, their enemies, who had an infinite abundance of pearls, and that those which they them-

selves had were the ones they had taken from them in their wars; and they told us how they fished for them and in what manner they grew; and we found that they were truly informed, as Your Magnificence will hear. We departed from this port, and sailed along the coast, along 5 which we constantly saw smoke or people on the beach. And after many days, we put into a harbor, for the purpose of repairing one of our ships which was making much water. There we found many people with whom we could not, either by force or kindness have any deal- 10 ings. And whenever we would go ashore [in the boats], they would sharply defend the land against us; and when they could accomplish nothing further, they would flee through the forests, and would not await us. Having found them to be so barbarous, we departed hence, and, in 15 the course of our sailing, sighted an island which was 15 leagues distant from land, out at sea, and resolved to go to see whether it was inhabited. [*Speeding toward it, therefore*], we found on it the most bestial and ugly people that were ever seen, [*and also the most lovable and kind*]; 20 and it was in this wise. They were (fol. 16r, M) very ugly of demeanor and countenance, and all had their cheeks stuffed out inside with a green grass which they continually chewed like cattle, so that they could scarcely speak; and each had around his neck two dry gourds, one 25 of which was filled with that grass which they had in their mouths, and the other with a white flour which seemed like powdered chalk; and from time to time they would dip into the flour-[gourd] a splinter which they would keep moistening in the mouth; then they would insert it 30 into their mouths [on both sides of the cheeks, powdering the grass which they had in their mouths]; and this they would do very frequently. And astonished at such a thing, we could not guess this secret, nor for what

purpose they did so. These people, when they saw us, came to us just as familiarly as (fol. 11r, P) if we had been on terms of friendship with them [for a long time]. We would go along the beach, conversing with them, and
5 when we desired to drink fresh water, they would make us signs that they had none, and would offer [us] some of that grass and flour of theirs, so that we reasoned that this isle was poor in water, and that to assuage their thirst they kept that grass in the mouth, and the flour
10 for this very same reason. We went over the island for a day and a half without ever finding fresh water; and we perceived that the water which they drank was dew which fell by night upon certain leaves which resembled a donkey's ears; and these were filled with water, and of
15 this they drank; it was excellent water; and they did not have these leaves in many places. They had no manner of food or roots (fol. 16v, M) such as those [on] the mainland had, and they fed upon fish which they caught in the sea; of these they had a great plenty, and they
20 were famous fishermen; because they presented us with many tortoises and numerous very excellent big fish. Their women did not have the custom of keeping grass in their mouths like the men, but all had water gourds, and of this they would drink. They had no town either
25 of houses or huts, but dwelt under bowers which protected them against the sun, but not against rain; for I think [that] it seldom rained in that isle. When they were fishing by the sea, all had leaves, very big and of such breadth that they were shaded beneath them; and this
30 they would set up in the ground, and just as the sun turned, so would they turn the leaf; and thus they protected themselves against the sun. The isle contains many animals of various kinds, and these drink swamp water. Seeing that they had nothing of value, we de-

parted and went to another isle; and we found that in it dwelt a very tall race. We landed one day to see whether we might find fresh water; and thinking that the isle was uninhabited, because we saw no people, while walking along the beach, we saw human footprints of huge size 5 in the sand, so that we judged [that] if the other limbs corresponded to this measure, (fol. 17r, M) they must be very large men. And while on our walk, we came upon a path which led inland; and nine of us agreed in the opinion that, because the isle was little, it could not con- 10 tain many people; [and therefore we penetrated it] to see what race that was. And after we had gone about a league, we saw in a valley five of their huts which appeared to us uninhabited, and we advanced up to them. And we found only five women, two (fol. 11v, P) old 15 women and three girls, of such tall stature that out of astonishment we stood looking at them. And when they saw us, such fear entered them that they had no courage to flee. And the two old women began with words to offer us hospitality, bringing us many things to eat, and 20 led us into a hut. And they were taller of stature than a tall man, for indeed they must have been as tall of body as was Francesco degli Albizzi, but better proportioned; so we were all resolved to carry off the three girls by force, and take them to Castile as a curiosity. And while 25 engaged in this conversation, there began to enter through the door of the hut full 36 men, much taller than the women, men so well built that it was a splendid thing to see them. These threw us into such perturbation that sooner would we have been on shipboard than find our- 30 selves with such people. They carried huge bows and arrows and great knobbed clubs. And they spoke to one another in a tone which seemed to indicate a desire to lay hands upon us. (fol. 17v, M) Beholding ourselves

in such peril, we took various counsel with one another; some said that we should begin to attack them indoors, others [not, for] it was better in the open; and others there were who said that we should not begin the dispute
5 until we should see what they intended to do; and we decided to leave the hut, and depart secretly by the path leading to the ships; and so we did. And taking to our path, we returned to the ships; they followed after us, always a stone's throw away, talking to one another. I
10 think they had no less fear of us than we of them; because occasionally we would stop, and they would do the same without drawing nearer to us, until we reached the beach where the boats were awaiting us. We entered them, and when we had cast off, they rushed forward
15 and shot many arrows at us. But we now had little fear of them; we fired two mortar shots at them, more to terrify than to hurt them; and at the report all fled to the hill. And thus we took leave of them, which seemed to us like escaping from [a] perilous battle. They were
20 altogether naked like the others. We named this island the Isle of Giants, because of their huge size. And we continued onward, [still] skirting the coast, where it was often our lot to fight with them, because they would not consent to let us take anything from the land. And
25 we were now desirous of returning to Castile, because we had been about a year at sea and had few supplies, (fol. 18r, M) and that little spoiled by the great heat which we endured; because (fol. 12r, P) from the time when we set out from the Cape Verde islands up to the present,
30 we had constantly sailed through the Torrid Zone and had twice crossed the equator; for as I said above, we went beyond it five degrees to the south, and here we were at 15 degrees north latitude. While considering these things, the Holy Ghost was pleased to grant some respite

to our numerous hardships; which was that, while on our way to seek a port where we might mend our vessels, we fell in with a people who received us with much kindness; and we found that they had an immense quantity of oriental pearls, and quite good ones. With them we lingered 5 47 days; and by barter we obtained from them 119 marks of pearls for a very slight amount of merchandise; for I think they did not cost us the value of 40 ducats; because what we gave them was only bells, mirrors, glass beads, and sheets of copper; for in return for a single bell one 10 would give all the pearls he had. From them we learned how they fished for them and where; and they gave us many oysters in which they were formed. We bought one oyster in which there were formed 130 pearls, and others with a lesser number. This oyster of the 130 pearls 15 the queen deprived me of, and [the] rest I took care [she should not see.] And Your Magnificence must know that if the pearls are not mature and do not detach themselves of their own accord, they are of no value, because they soon spoil; and of this I am an eye-witness. When 20 they are mature, they are inside the oyster, detached and sunk into the flesh, (fol. 18v, M) and these are good. All the bad ones which they had, most of which were nicked and badly perforated, were nevertheless worth good money, because a mark sold for [60 maravedis.] 25 And after 47 days we left these people very friendly disposed toward us. We set forth, and, owing to our need of provisions, we made the island of Antilles, which is the one that Christopher Columbus discovered several years ago. There we took on a good stock of stores, and re- 30 mained two months and 17 days. There we suffered many perils and hardships with those self-same Christians who were in this island with Columbus, out of envy, I think. I refrain from recounting them, so as not to be

prolix. We left the said island on the 22nd day of July,
and sailed for a month and a half, and entered the port
of Cadiz, which was on the 8th day of September, where
[we were well received with honor and profit. Thus
5 was ended] my second voyage. God be praised.

THIRD VOYAGE

(fol. 12v, P) Later being in Seville, resting from the numerous hardships which I had suffered in these two voyages, and desirous of returning to the land of pearls, it was then that fortune, not content with my sufferings, brought it about, I do not know how, that the desire to 5 make use of me entered the thought of this most serene king, Dom Manuel of Portugal. And while I was in Seville, far from any thought of coming to Portugal, there came to me a messenger with his royal crown letter, which implored me to come to Lisbon to talk with His 10 Highness, promising to do me favors. I was not disposed to go; I dismissed the messenger, saying that I was ill, and that when I should be well, if His Highness still wanted to use me, I should do all that he might order me. And (fol. 19r, M) seeing that he could not get me, he 15 decided to send for me [through] Giuliano di Bartholomeo del Giocondo, here resident in Lisbon, with orders to bring me by one means or another. The said Giuliano came to Seville; through [his] coming and entreaty I was forced to go; yet my going was taken amiss by all who 20 knew me; because I left Castile where honor had been shown me and the king held me in good repute. The worst of it was that I left without saluting my host. And when I presented myself before this king, he showed pleasure at my coming, and urged me to go in an expedition of three of his ships which were (fol. 13r, P) ready 25 to go to discover new lands. And as a king's request is a command, I had [to] consent to all he asked of me. And we left this port of Lisbon, three consort ships, the 10th day of May, 1501, and set our course straight for 30 the Grand Canary Isles; and we passed in sight of them

without stopping. And from this point we kept skirting the coast of Africa on the western side, off which coast we made our catch of a kind of fish which are called *parghi*; there we stopped three days. And from here we
5 went to a port called Besechicce on the coast of Ethiopia, which is within the Torrid Zone, over which the North Pole has an elevation of 14 and a half degrees; it is situated in the first climate. There we lingered 11 days, taking on water and wood; because my intention was
10 to navigate toward the south over the Atlantic Gulf. We left this port of Ethiopia, and (fol. 19v, M) sailed to the south-west, taking a quarter point to the south, until, after 67 days, we came to a land which was 700 leagues distant to the south-west from the said port. During
15 those 67 days we experienced the worst weather that ever man who sailed the sea encountered, owing to the many rains, storms and tempests which beset us; because we were in a very unpropitious season, due to the fact that the greater part of our navigation was ever near
20 the equator, where in the month of June it is winter: And we found the days equal to the nights, and shadows always cast toward [the] south. It pleased God to reveal to us a new land, and this was on the 17th day of August. There we anchored at a distance of a league and a half
25 [from it,] and put out our boats, and, taking a few bells, went to inspect the land to see whether it was inhabited with human beings and what it was like. And we found that [it] was inhabited by people who were worse than brutes just as Your Magnificence will understand. At
30 this the outset we saw no people, but we knew well that it was peopled through the many indications which we saw therein. We took possession of it for this most serene king. We found it a very pleasing, green [land], and of fair appearance; it was five degrees south of the

equator. And for this day we returned to the ships. And because we had much need of water and wood, we decided to put ashore next day [to] provide [ourselves] with the necessities. And while ashore, we saw some people on a hill-top who remained gazing [at us] and dared not descend. They were naked, and of the same (fol. 20r, M) color and form as those seen in the past. And though we exerted ourselves with them to make them come to talk with us, never could we reassure them, for they would place no trust in us; and in view of their obstinacy, and because it was already late, we returned thence to the ships, leaving ashore for them where they could see them many bells, (fol. 13v, P) mirrors, and other things. And when we were out at sea, they descended from the hill, and came for the things which we had left them, showing great surprise at them. And as for this day, we provided ourselves with nothing but water. The next morning we saw from the ships that the people ashore were making many smoke signals; and we, thinking that they were calling us, landed, and when there found that many tribes had come, and they always kept at a distance from us; and they motioned to us to accompany them inland. Wherefore two of our Christians were moved to ask the captain to grant them permission; for they were willing to risk going inland with them to see what people they were, and whether they had any wealth of spices or drugs. And they begged so hard that the captain consented; and they equipped themselves with many articles of barter, and they took leave of us under orders not to be more than five days in returning, because so long we would wait for them. And they took their way inland, and we [remained] on the ships and waited for them [six days.] And almost every day many people came to the beach, but never would they converse with us. And the seventh

day we landed, (fol. 20v, M) and found that they had brought their women with them. And when we jumped ashore, the men of the land sent many of their women to talk with us. And seeing that they did not take courage, we decided to send to them one of our men who was a very agile and energetic youth; and we, to give them [greater] confidence, entered the boats. And he went among the women, and when he approached them, they made a great circle around him; and touching him and gazing at him, they displayed their wonder. Meanwhile we saw a woman approaching from the hill, and she carried a big club in her hand. And when she reached the place where our Christian stood, she came up behind him, and, raising her club, struck him such a hard blow that she stretched him out dead on the ground. In a jiffy the other women seized him by the feet, and dragged him [by the feet] toward the hill; and the men sprang toward the beach, [and began] to shoot at us with their bows and arrows. And they filled with such consternation our people, [because they were] in the boats whose anchors were made fast to the shore, that, owing to the numerous arrows which they shot into our boats, nobody thought of laying hand on his weapons. Yet we did discharge at them four mortar shots, and they did not hit [anyone]; only, when the report [of these] was heard, all took flight toward the hill where the women were already cutting the Christian to pieces. And by a great fire which they had built they were roasting him before our eyes, exhibiting to us many pieces, (fol. 21r, M) and eating them. And the men kept showing us by their gestures how they had killed and eaten the two other Christians, which grieved us exceedingly. [And we believed it of them] when we saw with our own eyes the cruelty which they were practising upon the

murdered man; it was an intolerable insult to every one of us. (fol. 14r, P) And when more than 40 of us were resolved to jump ashore and avenge a death so cruel, a bestial and inhuman act, the admiral would not give his consent; and they remained with impunity after such an 5
affront. And we left them with ill-will, and with much shame to ourselves on our admiral's account. We left this spot, and began our sailing between east and west, that is south-east, for thus the land trended. And we made many stops, but never found people willing to hold con- 10
verse with us. And thus we sailed until we found that the land made a turn toward the south-west. After we had rounded a cape, to which we gave the name of Cape St. Augustine, we began to sail to the south-west. And this 15
cape is [full] 150 leagues distant to the east from the first land which we saw, where they murdered [our] Christians. And this cape is eight degrees beyond the equator to the south. And while sailing, we one day sighted many 5
people standing on the beach to see the miracle of our ships and how we sailed. We went toward them, anchored 20
(fol. 21v, M) in a good spot, put ashore in the boats, and found the people better natured than the previous ones. And although it required an effort on our part to win their confidence, nevertheless we made friends of them, and traded with them. We stayed in this place five days 25
and here we found *canna fistola*, very thick [and green,] [and likewise some that was] dry on the tree-tops. We decided to take away a couple of men from this place that they might teach us the language; and three came of their own free will to make the journey to Portugal. 30
And because [I am] already wearied of writing so much, Your Magnificence must know that we left this harbor, ever sailing to the south-west in view of land, continually making frequent stops, and talking with numerous people.

And we went so far to the south that we were already beyond the Tropic of Capricorn at a place where the South Pole rose 32 degrees above our horizon. Already we had utterly lost the Ursa Minor, and the Ursa Major
5 stood over us very low, and showed [itself] to us almost at the horizon's edge. We guided ourselves by the stars of that other, [southern pole, which are many, far larger and more lucent than those of this pole of ours. I drew the figuration] of the greater number of these, and especially of those of the first and greatest magnitude,
10 together with the calculation of the orbits which they make around the South Pole, and also the computation of their diameters and radii, as you will be able to see in my Four Journeys. We traversed about 750 leagues of
15 this coast, 150 from the aforementioned Cape St. Augustine (fol. 14v, P) to the west, 600 (fol. 22r, M) to the south-west. If I wanted to relate the things I saw on this voyage and what we underwent, as many pages again would not suffice me. On this coast we saw nothing
20 of value except infinite brazil trees and [many] casia [trees], and those which produce gum, and [so many] other marvels of nature that I am unable to recount them. And having already been full ten months on this voyage, and seeing that in this land we found no mineral
25 wealth whatever, we resolved [to] take leave of it and be off to encounter the sea in some other direction. And having held our council, it was decided that we should follow that course which might seem well to me; and the whole direction of the fleet was entrusted to me.
30 Straightway I ordered the whole fleet and company to be provided with water and wood for six months, for so long the ships' officers calculated that they could cruise in them. Having taken on [all] our stock, [we set sail] from this land, and began our sailing on a south-eastern

course. This was on the 13th day of February, when already the sun was gradually approaching the equinox, and was returning to this our northern hemisphere. And we sailed on this course until we found ourselves at such an altitude that the South Pole had an elevation of full 52 5 degrees above our horizon, and we no longer saw the stars of either the Ursa Minor or the Ursa Major. And we were already distant from the harbor whence we set forth full 500 leagues (fol. 22v, M) on a south-eastern course; and this was the third [day] of April. And on 10 this day there began so violent a sea-tempest that it made us lower sail altogether; and we ran on with bare mast in a violent wind which came from the south-west bringing with it huge seas, and the wind was very violent. Such was the tempest that the whole fleet stood in much 15 fear. The nights were very long; for we had a night on the seventh day of April which was of 15 hours; because the sun was at the end of Aries, and in this region it was winter, as Your Magnificence may well be aware. And while going along in this tempest, on the seventh day of 20 April we sighted new land, about 20 leagues of which we skirted; and we found it all barren coast; and we saw in it neither harbor nor inhabitants. I believe this was because the cold was so great that nobody in the fleet could withstand or endure it. So, seeing ourselves in such peril, 25 and in such a tempest that scarcely could we see one ship from the other, on account of the high seas which were running and the excessive thickness of the weather, we arranged with the admiral to signal the fleet to put about, and that we should leave the land and turn our course 30 toward Portugal. And it was a very good resolution, for certain it is that if we had lingered that night, we should all have been lost; because, when we turned our stern, both that (fol. 15r, P) night and the next day the tempest

so increased in violence that we feared for our lives. We had to make pilgrimages and (fol. 23r, M) other ceremonies, as is the custom of sailors at such times. We ran along five days [before the wind with only the foresail
5 set, and this well reefed, so that we may have covered 250 leagues in these five days;] and we kept constantly approaching the equator and more temperate winds and seas. It pleased God to save us from peril so great. Our
10 course lay between the north and north-east, because our intention was to go and seek the coast of Ethiopia, from which we were 1,300 leagues distant over the expanse of the Atlantic Sea. And by the grace of God, on the 10th of May, we came to a coast-land, toward the southern part of it called Sierra Leone. There we stayed 15 days,
15 taking our ease; and thence we departed, setting our course for the Azores Isles which are distant from this part of Sierra Leone about 750 leagues. We reached the islands at the end of July. There we remained 15 days more, taking some repose; and we left them for Lisbon from
20 which we were 300 leagues to the west. And we entered [this port of Lisbon on the seventh day of September, 1502, safe and sound,] thanks be to God, with only two ships; because we burned the other at Sierra Leone, for it could no longer navigate. We were about 16 months on
25 this voyage, and 11 of them we sailed without seeing the North Star or the Ursa Major or Minor, which they call the Horn. And we guided ourselves by the stars of the other pole. This is all that I saw on this [third] voyage or journey.

FOURTH VOYAGE

(fols. 15v, P; 23v, M) It remains for me to relate the things I saw on my fourth voyage or journey; and inasmuch as I am already wearied, and likewise because this fourth voyage did not result as I had intended, owing to an accident which befell us on the expanse of the Atlantic 5 sea, as Your Magnificence will soon learn in what follows, I shall strive to be brief. We departed from this port of Lisbon, six consort ships, intending to go in quest of an island toward the east, called Melaccha, of which we have information that it is very rich and that it is, as it were, 10 the emporium of all the ships that come from the Gangetic Sea and the Indian Sea, just as Cadiz is the port of call of all vessels passing from east to west and from west to east, [as this Most Serene King is informed,] on the route to Calicut. And this Melaccha is farther west than 15 Calicut, and more to the southward; because we know that it is in a latitude of 33 degrees from the Antarctic Pole. We set forth on the 10th [day] of May, 1503, and went straight to the Cape Verde Isles, where we stocked ourselves with meat and took on [every] kind of supplies. 20 There we remained 13 days, and hence we departed on our voyage, sailing on the south-eastern course. And as our admiral was a very presumptuous and headstrong man, he wanted to put in at Sierra Leone, a region in southern Ethiopia, without having any occasion, except to 25 make it manifest that he was master of six ships, contrary to the desire of all of us other captains. And thus sailing, when we reached (fol. 24r, M) the said land, so many were the storms which assailed us, and in addition to them the weather was so adverse, that, although we were in sight of it for full four days, the bad weather never permitted

us to land, so that we were forced to return to our true course and abandon the said Sierra. We sailed [hence] to the south-south-west, which is a course between [the] south and south-west. And when we had sailed full 300
5 leagues over the monstrous [sea], when we were already three full degrees beyond the equator to the south, there was revealed to us a land which might be distant therefrom 12 leagues, at which we marvelled. And we found that it was an island in the midst of the sea, and it was a
10 very high affair, and very marvellous in its nature; because it was only two leagues long and one broad. In this isle human folk never existed or dwelt; and it was Bad Island for all the fleet; because Your Magnificence must know that owing to the evil counsel and manage-
15 ment of our admiral, he here lost his ship; because he ran upon a reef [with it,] and it sprang aleak on the night of St. Laurence, which is the 10th [day] of August, and it sank; and nothing was saved from it except the crew. It was a ship of 300 tons in which was carried everything
20 of chief importance pertaining to our fleet. And as the whole fleet was toiling to save it, the (fol. 16r, P) admiral ordered me to go with the ship to the said isle to seek a good anchoring-ground where all the ships might anchor. And as my boat, manned with nine of my
25 sailors was (fol. 24v, M) serving and aiding to lighten the ships, he did not want me to take it, but to go without it, telling me that they would return it to me at the island. I set out from the fleet for the island, as he commanded [me,] without a boat and with less than half
30 of my sailors, and went to the said isle [from which] I was about four leagues distant. There I found an excellent harbor where all the ships might anchor very safely; and there I awaited my admiral and the fleet for full eight days, but they never came. In consequence we were

very much displeased, and the crew who had remained with me in the ship were so afraid that I could not console them. While in this state, we saw on the eighth day a ship approaching over the sea, and out of fear that they could not see us, we weighed our ship's anchor, and advanced out to meet it, thinking that it brought me my boat and crew. And when we came up to her, after an exchange of salutes, she told us how the flag-ship had sunk, how the crew had been saved, and how my boat and crew remained with the fleet which had gone on ahead out to sea. All this news was as great an affliction to us as Your Magnificence may imagine, to find ourselves 1,000 leagues away from Lisbon, and on the high sea and undermanned. Nevertheless we faced fortune, and continued on our forward way. We returned to the island, and stocked ourselves with water and wood by means of my consort's boat. We found this isle to be uninhabited, with many living springs of fresh water, innumerable trees, full of so many birds of the sea and (fol. 25r, M) land that they were without number. They were so simple that they let themselves be caught by the hand; and we caught so many of them that we loaded a boat with them. Nobody saw any animals other than very big rats, two-tailed lizards, and some serpents. When we had taken on our supplies, we departed by the course which lies between [the] south and south-west, because we had an order from the king, which commanded us that any one of the ships which might be lost from the fleet or its admiral should go to the land that we discovered on the last voyage, to a harbor which we named Bay of All Saints. And God was pleased [to] grant us such fair weather that in 17 days we landed there, although it was full 300 leagues away from the island. There we found neither our admiral nor any other ship of the fleet. We waited in that port for full

two months and four days; and seeing that nothing resulted, we resolved, (fol. 16v, P) my consort and I, to follow the coast. We sailed 260 leagues farther until we reached a harbor where we decided to build a fort. We
5 did so, and left in it 24 Christian [men] who were aboard my consort, and whom she had received from the wrecked flag-ship. In that harbor we stayed full five months, building the fort and loading our ships with brazil wood; for we could not go farther, because we had no crews
10 and I lacked much gear. When this was accomplished, we decided (fol. 25v, M) to return to Portugal, which was on our course between north and north-east. We left the 24 men who remained in the fort [with] supplies for six months, 12 mortars, and many other
15 weapons. We pacified all the natives, of whom I have made no mention in this voyage, not because we did not see and associate with countless natives; because full 30 of us men went inland 40 leagues, where I saw so many things that I refrain from telling them, reserving
20 them for my Four Journeys. This land is 18 degrees south of the equator, and 35 degrees west of the longitude of Lisbon, as our instruments showed. And when all this was done, we took leave of the Christians and
the land, and set our course at the beginning to the
25 north-north-east, which is [the] course between north and north-east, intending to go straight on our way to this city of Lisbon; and in 77 days, after much hardship and danger, we entered this port on the 28th day of June, 1504, God be praised. Here we were very well received,
30 and past all belief, because the whole city gave us up as lost; for [all] the other ships of the fleet had been lost through the pride and folly of our admiral; for thus God rewards pride. And now I am here in Lisbon, and I know not what this Most Serene King will wish to do with me,

though I greatly desire (fol. 26r, M) repose. The present
bearer, who is Benvenuto di Domenico Benvenuti, will
tell Your Magnificence of my condition, and of some
things [which] are not mentioned through fear of prolux-
ity; because he has seen and heard them. May God be 5
pleased! I have constantly condensed the letter as far as
I have been able, and have refrained from relating many
noteworthy things, so as to avoid wordiness. May Your
Magnificence pardon me, whom I beg you to retain in the
number of your servants, and I recommend to you Ser 10
Antonio Vespucci, my brother, and all my house. I cease,
praying God to increase the days of [your] life, and to
exalt the condition of your lofty Republic, and the honor
of Your Magnificence, etc. Given in Lisbon on the fourth
day of September, 1504. Your servant, Amerigo Ves- 15
pucci, at Lisbon. (End of fols. 16v, P, and 26r, M).

NOTES

Page 1—

The title chosen is that found in the M version. Neither of the others mentions Soderini. P has the following: Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuouamente trouate in quatro suoi viaggi (Amerigo Vespucci's Letter concerning the Isles Recently Discovered in Four of His Voyages.) H, in addition to the title: *Qvattvor Americi Vesputii Navigationes* (Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci), has a dedication to René of Lorraine: *Illustrissimo Renato, Iherusalem & Siciliae Regi, duci Lothoringiae ac Barii.*

Line 2. The reading *usada sauidoria* (P) is corrupt. I follow M: *usata usadia.*

1. 7. P omits *trauagliosi*; supported by H: *arduis.*
1. 9. M: *otioso*; H: *otiosus*; P: *perotioso.*
1. 10. *scriuere* (P); *scriuermi* (M).
1. 10. M: *nec etiam diletteuoli*; P: *ne dilecteuoli.*
1. 13. M: *Ma la confidanza che*; P: *Ma la confidentia mia che.*
1. 15. M: *che son cose che non*; P: *che son cose non.*
1. 16. M omits: *ne per moderni.* The P reading is confirmed by H.
1. 18. M: *mi mosse*; H: *Movit me*; P omits *mi.*
1. 19. P: *ruogho*; M: *volgo*, a misunderstanding of the Spanish word.
1. 21. P: *che si dimostra*; M: *che dimostra.*
1. 27. M: *dell' Alto Re*; H: *incliti Regis*; P omits: *alto.*

Page 2—

1. 8. M: *andauamo*; P: *andando.*
1. 11. P omits: *mio zio.* H: *avunculi mei.*
1. 12. M omits *che* (for); H confirms P: *ut.*
1. 13. P: *da quel*; M: *che quel.*
1. 22. P: *siconstuma dare*; M: *si costuma di dare.*

1. 25. M omits: questa mia lettera. H confirms P: hisce meis litteris.

1. 26. P: dalla; M: della.

1. 27. M and H here agree against P in the sentence division.

1. 30. M omits: come. H: quod.

1. 34. M: permutaua; P: promutaua.

Page 3—

1. 1. M: tene all' huomo; P: tiene lhuomo. The construction of M here appears Spanish.

1. 6. P: mercantia; M: mercatantia.

1. 14. M: addi x di Maggio; P: adi 16 di maggio; H: vigesima die Maii. It is difficult to determine which of these three readings to accept.

1. 20. P: non n'hebbono; M: non hebbono; H: talium.

1. 23. H: erroneously reads: duodevigessimio capite.

1. 32. Both P and M read: $27\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. I follow the reading of H because it is more in accord with fact.

Page 4—

1. 2. M: doue ci prouedemo d'acqua, etc.; H: Ubi nobis de lignis . . . providendo; P: prouedendoci dacqua.

1. 6. H: viginti septem vix elapsis diebus. The choice between the two readings is uncertain.

1. 7. M: tenere ad una terra; P: tenere una terra.

1. 18. mostrorono; M: monstrono.

1. 19. M: per che ci uedeuono et di altra effigie che non es loro; P: per che ciuidono uestiti, & daltra statura; H: quod vestitos, alteriusque effigiei, quam forent nos esse intuiti sunt. H alone is complete.

1. 26. P: a cercare dalcun; M: attrouare alibuno (sic); H confirms P.

1. 29. P: sicorreua; M: ci correua.

M: di continuo ueggendo; H: continue percipiendo; P: di continuo uiaggio ueggendo.

1. 30. M: di poi di naucati; P: di poi nauigati.

Page 5—

1. 2. non potauamo; M: non poteuono.

1. 5. M: conte christalline; H: certos (sic) cristallinos; P: cente (sic) spalline (sic).

1. 6. P: si assicurorono; M: si assicurassino.

1. 16. M lacks: a riceuere. The omission is indicated by a blank space.

Page 6—

1. 1. M lacks: crescere. Again the scribe has left a blank space.

M omits: ne.

1. 2. P omits: nessuna.

1. 5. M: dell' andare. The reading of P is preferable: nello andare.

1. 6. P: che non tiene in conto; M: che non tiene conto.

1. 8. M: a noi; P: da noi.

1. 9. P: credere; M: creatura (sic).

1. 15. P: arsicciato; M: arsunato.

1. 25. P: leuon lor drieto; M: lieuimi dreto.

1. 27. M: lo; P: le.

M: acostumano; P: costumano.

1. 29. P: non è; M: non sono.

1. 30. P lacks: nessuna.

1. 32. M omits: e suta infra loro: et domandati perche guerreggiavano, non cisapeuono dare altra ragione se non che lo faceuon per uendicare la morte de loro antepassati. H confirms this passage which is not an interpolation in P.

Page 7—

1. 4. P: è che; M: et (sic) che.

1. 5. M omits: loro, after morto.

1. 11. P: mai uedemmo far questione; H: conquaestionari nonnumquam vidimus; M: mai costumano . . far questione. H proves P to be right.

1. 14. P: cuple for Sp. cuple; M: cimiple (sic); Lacking in H.

P: parlano; M: parlam.

1. 16. P: o nel palato; M: et (sic) nel palato.

1. 26. M erroneously has ne before tengono, ending the sentence with the latter word, and leaving what follows without a verb.

1. 31. P omits after dolce dormire: perche infinite uolte ci accadde dormire. H: Etenim cum in eisdem

eorum retiaculis mihi plurumque dormitasse contingerit, etc.

1. 32. P: in epse; M: di (sic) esse.

P: dormauamo; M: dormire.

1. 34. P: continouar; M: continuare. The reading is wrong in both texts. I follow H: frequentissime.

Page 8—

1. 1. P: uaziano; M: ueggiamo (sic). M has garbled the Spanish word as H proves.

1. 4. P omits: si li huomini come le donne; H: tam mares quam foeminae.

1. 5. P: lasciano; M: lasciauano. It is impossible to decide between the two readings.

1. 16. M: contentare; H: satisfaciant; P: contar (sic).

1. 30. P: incuoprono; M: coprono.

1. 31. P: quella parte ad che; M: omits: ad.

P: prouidde; M: prouide.

1. 32. P: che è; M: che se (sic).

1. 33. M omits: delle loro uergogne; confirmed by H.

1. 34. P: mostrare; M: el mostrare.

Page 9—

1. 5. M omits: di before congiugnersi.

1. 6. P: gente; H: gente; M: genere (sic).

1. 10. P omits: nessuna.

1. 14. M: dalle and da; P: delle and de.

1. 15. M omits: & lungheza; H has simply: tam magna.

1. 16. M omits: & populatione uedemmo soli di tredici case, doue stauano quattro mila anime; H shows that something has been omitted in M, but the corresponding passage differs materially from the P reading: Inter quas octo populosissimas esse comperimus, sic ut in eis essent habitarentque pariter animarum decem millia.

1. 18. P: octo in dieci; M: 18 in 20; H: Octennio quolibet aut septennio.

1. 19. P omits: sit poneuano a tanto trauaglio, ci risposono una naturale risposta. Dissono che. . . ; H: qui eius rei causam interrogati, naturale responsum dederunt, dicentes quod. . .

1. 27. P: & daltre; M: o daltre.

1. 28. M omits: non before le stimiano.

1. 29. P omits: nessuna.

P: comperano; M: comprono.

1. 33. P: lhabbino; M: la abra.

1. 34. P: hauerle; M: hautene (sic).

Page 10—

1. 1. M omits: liberali.

1. 5. P: è M: et (sic).

1. 7. P: moza; M: mezza (sic).

1. 15. M omits: che.

1. 17. M omits: passo.

1. 18. P: una; M: uno (sic).

1. 21. M: con che si possa; P lacks: con.

1. 22. H: quatuor aut circiter dies.

1. 25. P; riceuono; H. suscipiunt; M: ritrouono.

1. 30. P: dalle; M: delle.

1. 31. M omits uolte.

Page 11—

1. 1. P: faccendolo; M omits lo.

1. 11. M: radici et herbe; P: radici di herbe.

1. 13. P: & alloro comune uso & mangiare usano una. . . ; M: et è loro comune mangiare solo una. . . H: Communis vero eorum pastus sive victus arborea radix quaedem est.

1. 16. M: Carabi; P: Cazabi; H: Cambi.

1. 17. P: saluo che; M: saluo se non.

1. 20. M omits: loro; H: suos.

1. 24. P: marauigliorono; M: marauigliono.

1. 28. P omits: mia; H: meis.

1. 31. M: relatato; P: relato.

1. 32. M: uiste per me; H: rerum a me visarum; P: che io uiddi.

1. 34. P: sapore; M: sapere (sic).

Page 12—

1. 4. uerremo ad; M: uerrano.

1. 16. M: fumo a tenere in un porto; P: fummo a tenere uno porto.

1. 19. M: fumo a entrare in un porto; H: portum quamprimum introgressi fuimus; P: Fumo a terra in un porto.

1. 20. M and H: xx; P: 44.

1. 25. P: disubito; M: in un subito.
1. 28. M: xii canoe; H: duodecim . . . lintres; P:
22 Canoe.
1. 29. M: le quali; P: equali.
1. 31. P: & si tennon larghi; M: si che tennono larghi;
H: ac sese, etc.
1. 34. P: & non ci aspectorono; M: ma non ci as-
pettorno.

Page 13—

1. 5. P: seco; M: con loro.
1. 7. M omits: quanto before puo.
1. 8. P: battelli; M: barchi.
1. 10. P: uedemmo uenire; M: uenimo (sic) uenire.
1. 11. P: dalle; M: delle.
1. 14. P: simostrorono; M: si mostro.
M omits: certe and uecchie.
1. 16. M omits: per before il che.
1. 18. P: tenauamo; M: teneuono.
1. 19. P: almare; M: allijare (sic).
1. 22. M: di basso dell' acqua; P: di basso nellacqua.
1. 25. P: sozobramo; M: sotto braccio (sic).
1. 27. M: stragio; P: istragho.
P omits: in loro.
1. 28. P: dismanparate; M: . . . parate. The scribe,
not comprehending the Spanish word, indicated the
omission of the first two syllables by leaving a blank
space.
1. 30. M: 15 o 20; P: 14 o 20; H: viginti vel circiter.
1. 31. M omits: restoron.
P: furon; M: fumo.
1. 33. P and M: dua huomini; H: viros tres. H is
clearly correct.
1. 34. P: altro che due uecchie; H: nisi vetulas; M:
salue che due uedue.

Page 14—

1. 4. P: fumoci; M: fumo.
1. 7. M: con la notte uegnente; P: & la nocte uegnente.
1. 10. P: Andammo; M: andando.
1. 11. P: discosto da questa; M: discosto a questa.
1. 13. P: differente; H: diversam; M: differentiata.

- l. 16. P: giunti con terra; M: giunti in terra.
 - l. 18. P omits: ogni.
M: cosa; P: cose.
 - l. 21. M: adonde stauono; P: due (sic) stauano.
 - l. 26. M: andando; H: Nobis . . . progredientibus;
P: Andammo.
 - l. 27. M omits: case ouero.
 - l. 29. P: muso; M: musolo.
 - l. 31. P: eron; M: tremo.
 - l. 32. M omits: non before ardiua.
P and M: torne (Possibly a mistake for toc-
carne); H: contingere.
 - l. 33. P: di uno; M: come uno.
- Page 15—
- l. 7. M: nel mare; H: in mari; P: del mare.
 - l. 8. P omits: et di poi.
M omits: ne, in farne.
 - l. 10. P: li; M: lo.
 - l. 13. M: largha a raccontarle; P omits: a.
 - l. 14. P: riuenuia; H: redirent; M: ueneua.
 - l. 17. M: lasciamo loro in queste trabacche; H: in
eisdem eorum tentoriis; P: lassamo loro nelle trabacche.
 - l. 20. P: come uenisse eldi; M: come peruenissi el di.
 - l. 23. P omits: et cominciorno; H: coeperunt.
P: domandauamo; M: comandauono.
 - l. 24. P: mostrandosi; M: mostrandoci.
 - l. 25. P omits: non. H confirms M.
 - l. 27. P: habitationi & populationi; M: lacks the first
two words, and H confirms M.
 - l. 28. P: simisseno; M: si mossono.
 - l. 29. M: che; H: qui; P: perche.
 - l. 31. M and H: 23; P: 28.
 - l. 33. P omits: come buoni; H: strenue mori.
 - l. 34. P: di poi che fumo stati; M: di poi d'essere
stato.

M omits: quasi.

Page 16—

- l. 3. M omits: non eron piu che.
- l. 5. M omits: le.
- l. 13. P: adaltre; M: all' altre.

- 1. 21. P: tornarcene; M: tornare.
- 1. 23. P: & se alcuno; M: et quando alcuni.
- 1. 25. P: discansatamente; M: discretamente; H: studiosissime.

1. 30. M: delle loro Rete; P: nelle loro reti.

1. 32. M omits: con loro.

Page 17—

1. 2. M: al mare; P: a mare.

M: venuto a nostri; P: uenuto nostri.

1. 4. che ci annegauono e battelli; H: ut nostri idem phaseli pene prae pondere submergerentur; P: ch' cimarauigliuamo.

1. 17. P: quella gente; H: gens illa; M: qui la (sic).

1. 18. P: cenepentimo di tal facto; M: ci ripentimmo del fatto.

1. 22. P: sipartiron; M: partitisi.

1. 30. P: le; M: la.

P: intitulo; M: intitolato.

1. 31. P: opera; M. operetta.

P: sicontiene; M: si contengono.

1. 32. P: senedata; M: se data.

M omits: copia.

1. 34. M: d'infiniti animali; H confirms M; P: dinfiniti fiumi, animali.

P omits: e molto.

Page 18—

1. 1. P: Lonze; M: onze.

M: daini; P: danii.

1. 2. M: etiam; P: ancora.

1. 3. P: peculioso; M: peculio.

1. 7. M: Che diremo dell' vccelli; P: Che diremo daltriuccelli.

1. 13. M: del tutto; P: altucto.

1. 14. M omits: giuntamente o di basso del pararello che descriue el tropico di Cancer doue alza; H: confirms this passage in P.

1. 17. M: dall'; P: dello.

1. 20. M: di donde; P: donde.

1. 21. P: dal; M: del.

1. 22. M omits: terra; H: tellure.

1. 24. M omits: ci; H has a different reading: se . . .
vocantes.

H: charaibi; M: caraijbi; P: carabi.

1. 26. M and H: Parias; P: Lariab.

1. 30. P: ma; H: sed; M: et.

1. 32. P: Erauamo gia stati; M: et di gia che
erauamo; H: quia.

Page 19—

1. 3. P: brearle; M: britarle (sic).

1. 11. H: exoneravimus; M and P: alloggiare, prob-
ably an error for alleggiare.

1. 12. P: tiramo; M: ritaramo.

1. 15. M and P: gustamo, ghustammo; H: con-
sumpsimus. H indicates that the reading is probably a
corruption of gastamo.

1. 22. M has che before con.

1. 24. P: leuauan; H: ducerent; M: leuano.

1. 30. M omits: restoron molto.

1. 31. M omits: di, before uenire.

1. 34. P: poi; M: di poi.

Page 20—

1. 1. P: a loro terra; M: alla terra.

1. 4. M: nauicamo; H: navigamimus; P: nauigando.

1. 9. M: yti; H: Ity.

1. 16. P: di modo; M: a modo.

1. 17. M: tirare; P: trarre.

1. 19. P omits: et cominciorono.

1. 20. P: saltassimo; M: ci assaltassino (sic).

1. 23. M: ueniuono; H: venerant; P: erano.

1. 25. P: diuoler; M: che uoleuono.

P: perseueroron; M: proponono.

1. 27. P: sentirono; M: sentissino.

1. 28. P: uidono; M: uedessino.

1. 29. M: ritrasseno; P: trasseno.

P: per onde; M: però.

1. 33. M: leuauamo; P: leuammo.

Page 21—

1. 1. P: ne; M: et.

M: di loro; P: et loro.

P: feriron; M: feriuono.

1. 3. M: ne a tiro; P: non altiro.
 1. 4. P: al tiro; M: al fine.
 1. 9. M: andar loro dreto; P: dare loro drieto.
 1. 18. P: nimicitia; M: inimista.
 1. 29. P: drieto; M: dritto.
 1. 30. P: hauendo preso; M: et pigliamo.
- M and P: 250; H: 25. In both cases.

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1. 2. P: Canoe; M: cimea (sic).
 1. 7. M and P: 1498; H: 1499 (sic).
 1. 9. M: nostro; H: nostra; P: mio.
- M omits: primo; P confirmed by H: priore.
P: Finisce el primo Viaggio. Comincia el secondo.

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1. 2. M: questo; P: quello.
1. 4. P: 16; M: 10; H: date omitted.
1. 5. H: 1489 (sic).
P: adiritti; M: diricto.
P: cauo; M: caluo (sic).
1. 8. M: quiui; P: qui.
1. 10. P: 44; M: 50; H: xix.
P: tenere ad una; M: tenere una.
1. 11. P omits: che.
1. 13. P: sopra laquale; M: sopra alla quale.
1. 17. P: per che; M: che.
P: ad epsa; M: a essere (sic).
1. 18. M omits: di.
1. 19. M omits: tucta annegata & piena di grandissimi fiumi; P omits: molto verde et di grandissimi Arbori; H: Eandem terram in aquis omnino submersam, necnon magnis fluminibus perfusam esse invenimus, quae et quidem semet plurimum viridem et proceras altissimasque arbores habentem monstrabat.
1. 22. buttato fuori nostri battelli; H: solutis . . . phaelis; P: buttammo.
1. 24. P: grandissimi fiumi; M: Arbori grandissimi.
P omits: tutta.
1. 27. P: traeuono; M: teneuono.
1. 28. M: ponemo; P: potemo.
1. 29. P omits: dall' acque.

1. 30. M omits: uedemmo per efiumi molti segnali di come la terra era popolata: & uisto che per questa; H, too, supplies the omission in M.

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1. 1. P: tornarcene; M: tornare.

1. 2. P omits: et tornatoci alle nauì; H seems to confirm this passage: quod et quidem fecimus.

1. 9. P: dallo; M: da.

1. 11. P omits: nostra.

1. 17. P: uidrizzammo; M: indirizzamo.

1. 18. M: poteuamo; P: potauamo (sic).

1. 20. M: dell' alto mare; H: ex alto mari; P: con alto mare.

1. 26. M omits: noi ci.

1. 32. P: carouelletta; M: carrouetta.

1. 34. M omits: poi.

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1. 2. M: trauemo; P: trouammo.

1. 6. M: una uolta; P: in (sic) altra uolta.

1. 9. M and P: 70; H: 20.

1. 14. P: dall'altra terra; M: da altra.

1. 15. P: castrati; M: cappati.

1. 16. M omits: uirile.

1. 18. H: abducerent; M: cappati; P: castrati.

1. 19. P omits: come.

1. 20. H: canibali; P: Camballi; M: Cambali.

M: per che; P: che.

1. 28. P omits: et alcuno specchio et li dicemo che fussi assicurar la gente; H: nolis, cymbalis, ac speculis plerisque datis diximus ei, ne propter nos caeteri qui aufugerant expavescerent, quoniam, etc.

1. 30. P omits: che, after quello.

1. 31. M omits: seco.

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1. 6. P: et; M: che.

1. 10. P: teneuano; M: traeuono.

1. 15. P: in terra; M: intera.

P: fumo; M: stemo.

1. 21. P: mirabolani; M: marribolani; H: myrrhae pomis.

1. 23. P: loro; M: d'essi.
1. 27. P: sino aqui; M: sin qui.
1. 34. P: copia; H: quantitatem; M: cosa.
P: che quelle; M: che per quelle.

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1. 3. P: in che modo; M: di che modo.
P: li trouammo essere con uerita; M: lo trouamo
essere uerita.
1. 5. P: nauicammo; M: nauicando.
1. 6. P: di continuo; M: del continuo.
P: uedauamo fumalte; M: si uedeuono fumate.
M: o gente; P: con gente.
1. 11. P omits: co' battelli; H: cum naviculis.
1. 17. P: distaua; M: staua al.
1. 18. M: drento; P: dreto (sic).
1. 25. P: teneua; H: tenebant; M: traeva.
1. 26. P: che; M: et.
1. 29. M: nella zuccha della farina; H: in cucurbitam
farina repletam; P: nella farina.
1. 30. M: immollando; P: immollandolo.
1. 31. M omits: da tutta dua le bande delle ghote,
infarinandosi lherba che teneuano; H confirms the reading
of P.
1. 34. P: potauamo; M: poteuono.

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1. 1. P: cosi; M: tal cosa.
1. 2. P: uennonno; M: si uennonno.
1. 3. P omits: molto tempo; H: longaevam amicitiam.
1. 6. M: ci offeriuono; H: offerebant; P: confereuon,
ci omitted.
1. 7. P: stimammo; M: tiramo.
1. 8. P: che; M: di.
1. 12. M: acqua di rugiada; P omits: acqua.
1. 14. P: empieuonsi; H: se implebant; M: empieuagli.
1. 15. M: buonissima; P: optima.
P: ne; M: le.
1. 16. P: luoghi; M: parti.
1. 17. P: nella; M: la.
1. 19. P: questi; M: questo.
1. 20. M: per che; P: &.

1. 24. P: di quella; H: ex qua; M: quelle.
M: teneuono; H: habebant; P: traeuono.
1. 25. M: di basso di; P: di basso in.
1. 26. P: credo; M: credi; H: autumabile est.
1. 27. P omits: che.
P: uipioueua; M omits: ui.
P: quella; H: illa; M: questa.
1. 29. P: largheza; M: grandezza.
M: li; P: la.

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1. 2. M: un di; P: indi.
1. 6. M: che giudicamo che se; P: & giudicammo se.
1. 7. P: rispondessino; M: rispondeuano; H. responde-
bant.
1. 8. P: andando; M: andamo.
P: in un; M: uno.
1. 9. P: & giudicammo; M: giudicando.
1. 10. M: che in essa non poteua stare; P: non poteua
hauere in se.
1. 11. P: et però andammo per epsa; M: l'andare
(sic).
1. 14. M and P: dispopolate; H: populatae.
1. 15. After solo M has the words: in esse dua, a
reading not justified by either of the other versions or
by the sense.
P: uecchie; H: vetulas; M: vedoue.
1. 23. P: Francesco; M: franchiseschino.
1. 24. P: torne; M: tor.
1. 28. M: formosa; H: delectabile; P: famosa.
1. 30. P: essere; H: esse; M: stare.
1. 31. P: tal gente; M: tali genti.
1. 32. M: e gran; P: con gran.

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1. 1. P: facemo; H: fecimus; M: furono.
1. 3. P omits: no che.
1. 5. P: infino; M: fino.
1. 6. M: di salire; P: del salire.
1. 12. P: tanto che; M: tanto, che omitted.
1. 19. M omits: una.
1. 20. M: Chiamamo; H: appellavimus; P: Chiamo.

1. 22. P omits: tuttauia.
1. 26. P: circha di; M: a circa di.
P: & tenauamo; M: per che teneuamo.
1. 29. M: dell' isole; H: a insulis; P: per lisole.
P: infino aqui; M: fino a qui.
1. 31. P: perla linea; H: per lineam; M: della linea.
1. 32. P: qui; M: quiui.

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1. 2. P: racchonciare; M: ricorre.
1. 5. P: co quali ciritenemmo; M: aquali ci ditenemo.
1. 8. M: ualore; P: ualere.
1. 9. M: conte christalline; H: christallinosque non-nullos; P: conte, dieci palle (sic).
1. 13. P: riscatammo ostrica nella quale staua; M: per riscattamo ostrighe che in essa stauono.
1. 16. M: l'altre; P: & altre.
M omits: non le uedesse.
1. 19. M: non prestono; H: perfecti non sunt; P: non perstanno.
1. 20. P: sidamnano presto; H: emarcescunt; M: si degno (sic) presto.
1. 21. M: drento dell'; drento nella.
1. 25. The translation "maravedis" is questionable. In M the reading is: 60as ias/m. This is omitted in both P and H.
1. 27. P: Partimoci; M: partimo.
1. 28. M: quella; P: questa.
1. 31. M and P: 2 mesi & 17 di; H: mensibus duobus et diebus totidem.
1. 34. P: li lascio; M: si lasciano.

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1. 3. M and P both read: di di after Septembre. This is a corruption of donde or doue (H has ubi).
1. 4. P omits. fumo bene riceuti con honore et profitto. Così forni; H: ubi cum honore profectuque suscepti fuimus. Et sic per Dei placitum finem nostra cepit secunda navigatio. At the end of this voyage in the P version occur the words: Finito elsecondo Viaggio. Comincia el terzo.

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1. 3. P: tornare; H: remeare; M: tornarle.

1. 7. M: Manuel; P: manouello.
1. 9. P: miuene; M: imiuenner (sic).
1. 12. M: despedi; P: expedii.
1. 16. P omits: per before Giuliano.
1. 19. M omits. delquale.
1. 23. M: peior; P: peggior.
1. 24. P: inanzi; M: dinanzi.
1. 26. P: preste; M: presto.
1. 27. P: è; M: che.
1. 28. P omits: di.
1. 30. P: 10; H: decima; M: 7.
1. 31. M: isole; H: insulas; P: isola.
M: esse; P: epsa.

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1. 2. P: occidentale; M: dell' occidente.
1. 4. M: parghi; H: parghos; P: Parchi.
1. 5. P: Besechicce; H: Besilicca; M: Belsegline.
1. 6. M: della; P: dalla.
1. 10. M: nauicare; H: navigandi; P: maringare.
1. 13. P: tenere a una; M omits: a.
1. 14. M: distaua dal; H: distaret a; P: staua nel.
1. 15. P: quelli; M: questi.
1. 21. P: &; H: ac; M: doue.

M: e di con le nocti; H: dies noctibus; P: el di
con la nocte.

1. 22. P omits: el.
1. 24. M: legha con mezzo; H: leuca . . . cum media;
P: meza legha.
1. 25. P omits: d'essa.
1. 28. P omits: la.
1. 29. M: per lo che; P: però; H: quemadmodum.

The sentence division in P is erroneous at this point.

1. 33. M omits: terra.

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1. 1. M: tornamo; P: ditornammo.
1. 3. P: giorno di tornare; M: di tornare.
P omits: ci.
1. 5. P omits: ci.
1. 22. M: per donde; P: per onde.
1. 24. M: ch' essi; P: che si.
P: uolere andare; M omits: uolere.

1. 25. M: drento in terra; P omits: drento.
1. 27. M: che el Capitano che fu; P omits: che, before
fu.
1. 31. P: preson; H: arripuerunt; M: preso.
1. 32. M: aspettamoli; P: aspectandoli.
H: diebus sex; M: 8 di; omitted in P.

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1. 4. M: Le quali uisto che; P: & uisto.
1. 6. M: lo sforzato; lo sforzo.
1. 7. M: le; P: lo.
P omits: miglior.
1. 14. per adrieto; M: per diricto.
P: alzato; M: alzo . . . et.
M: tal; P: tam.
1. 17. M omits: pe piedi.
P: uerso la; M: alla.
1. 18. P omits: et comincioron.
1. 20. P omits: per che stauono.
P: nelli battelli; M: e battelli.
1. 23. P: accertaua; M: asertaua.
1. 25. P omits: a nessuno.
P omits: d'esse.
1. 26. M: a donde; P: & doue.
1. 31. M: haueuon morto; P: hauer morti.
P: magiatoseli; M: mangiandoseli.
1. 33. P omits: Et lo credemo loro; H: quibus . . .
in hoc ipso credidimus.

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1. 3. M: crudel; P: cruda.
1. 9. M: che; P: &.
1. 10. P omits: non, after mai.
1. 15. P omits: ben.
H: priori; M: prima; P: preducta.
1. 16. P omits: c'; H: nostri.
1. 21. P: in buon; M: piu buon.
1. 23. P: che ci; M: che non ci.
1. 24. P: celifacemmo; M: et li facemo.
1. 26. P: canna; M: cagna.
M omits: et uerde.
1. 28. M: di questo luogo; P: in questo luogo.

l. 29. P: uennonno tre di loro; H: nos ultro comitati sunt; M: era di loro.

l. 31. M: per che di gia sto cansato di; P: per questo digia cansato di.

l. 33. P: nauicando; M: nauicamo.

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l. 3. M: ci alzaua; P: salzaua.

P: et di gia; M: che di gia.

l. 5. P: ci simonstraua; M omits: si.

l. 6. P: reggiauamo; M: regauono.

l. 7. M omits: del Meridione: lequali sono molte & molto maggiori & piu lucenti che le di questo nostro polo; H confirms this passage.

l. 12. M: fanno; H: efficiunt; P: faceuano.

l. 13. P: potra uedere; H: inspici poterit; M: uedra.

l. 14. M and P: 750 . . . 150; H: 700 . . . 100.

l. 15. P: dal; M: del.

l. 18. M: questo uiaggio; H: dum peragraremus; M: questa costa.

l. 19. P: cosa di; M: di cose di.

l. 20. P omits: molt' Alberi.

l. 21. M: lanime; H: laminas; P: myrra.

P omits: tant'.

l. 25. P: di dispedirci; M: di spedire.

l. 26. P: andarci; M: andare.

P: almare; M: il mare.

l. 30. P: allhora; H: confestim; M: allora.

l. 33. P omits: ogni.

P omits: partimo.

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l. 1. M: 13 di febraro; H: Februarii decima tertia.; P: 15 di Febraio.

l. 2. P: cercando; M: acercando.

l. 4. M omits: che, before ci trouamo.

l. 6. P: del; M: di.

l. 7. P: della maggiore orsa; M: alla orsa maior.

l. 8. M: di donde; P: di doue.

l. 10. M omits: di.

l. 11. M: nel mare; P: in mare.

l. 12. P: amainare; M: amaerar (sic).

P: allarbero seco; M: alber secco.

1. 15. P: la flocta; M: in flocta.
1. 16. M: Le nocti; P: e nocte.
1. 17. P: adi septe daprile; M: a 7 dAprile; H: Aprilis secunda.
1. 22. M: trouamo esser; P omits: esser.
1. 23. M: credo che per che; P: credo perche.
1. 25. P: uistoci in; M: uiston.
1. 33. P omits: che before tutti.

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1. 1. si ciricrebbe; M omits: ci.
1. 4. P omits: a poppa con solo el trinchetto, et questo ben basso, che potemo nauicare 250 leghe in questi 5 di; H: Sub quo tempestatis infortunio quinque navigauimus diebus ducentas et quinquaginta in mari penetrauimus leucas.
1. 8. M omits: in, before mare.
1. 13. P omits: della costa.
1. 15. M: rinfresco; P: rinfrescamento.
1. 18. P: stauamo; H: eramus; M: stanno.
1. 21. M omits: per questo porto di Lisbona adi 7 di Settembre 1502 a buon saluamento; confirmed by H.
1. 24. M: xvi mesi; H: sexdecim circiter menses; P: 15 mesi.
1. 28. P omits: terzo.

In the P version the words Quarto Viaggio occur at the end.

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1. 8. M: discoprire; P: scoprire.
1. 9. P: uerso; M: di uerso.
P: Melaccha; M: melatha; H: Melcha.
1. 11. M: almazzino; P: elmagazino.
1. 13. P: da leuante; M: dalleuante.
1. 14. P omits: secondo che questo Serenissimo Re tiene le nuoue; H: prout de hoc ipso per Calicutiæ viam fama est.
1. 15. P: Galigut; H: Calicutia; M: Calicur.
P: Melaccha; M: melaca; H: Melcha.
M: ista; H: respicit; P: è.
1. 16. P: Caligut; H: Calicutia; M: Calicur.
M: alla; H: ad; P: alta (sic).
1. 17. P: paraggio; M: parago.

1. 18. M omits: di.
1. 20. M: carnaggio; P: caragne.
P omits: ogni.
M: rimfresco; P: rinfrescamento.
1. 21. M and P: 13; H: duodecim.
1. 26. P: contro alla; M: contro la.

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1. 2. M: nauicamo; H: navigamimus; P: naucando.
M omits: di qui.
1. 3. M: susuduesta; P: suduest (sic); H: suduestium (sic).
P: uento; H: ventus; M: tanto (sic).
P omits: el.
1. 5. P: monstro; H: arctitudinem; M: golfo.
M omits: del mare.
1. 7. P: distare; H: distabamus; M: star.
1. 8. P: M: xii; H: duodecim; P: 22.
P: dellaquale; M: delle quali.
1. 12. M: non fu ne habito; H: aut fuerat aut habitaverat; P: non fu habitato.
1. 16. M omits: con epsa.
1. 17. M omits: di.
1. 25. P: & aiuto; M: dello aiuto.
1. 26. P: sine; M: se in (sic).
1. 29. M omits: mi.
1. 30. P: fui; M: fu.
P omits: dessa.

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1. 1. P: molto; M: tutti.
P: mal contenti; M: maninconosi (sic).
M: la gente che mi era resta; P: le genti che meran restate.
1. 2. M: staua; P: stauano.
1. 5. M: nostra naue; P: nostre naui.
1. 11. M: tal nuoua; H: Quae nuncia; P: tormenta.
1. 25. M: partimo; P: dipartimo.
P omits: el.
1. 30. M and P: la badia (sic); H: abbatiam (sic).
1. 31. M omits: di.
M omits: terra after tenere.

1. 32. P: distaua; H: distat; M: istaua.
P: da M: dell'.

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1. 5. M omits: huomini.
M: che trauea; P: che ci haueua.
1. 6. P: haueua; M: hauta (sic).
1. 8. P omits: in, before caricare.
1. 9. P: non tenauamo; H: non valebamus; M: non teneuo.
1. 13. P: li; M: a.
M omits: con.
1. 17. M omits: gente.
P: infinita gente di epsa; M: infinita dessa.
1. 21. M: xxxv; H: triginta quinque; P: 37.
M: meridiano; H: meridianum; P: mantenimento (sic).
1. 22. M: dimostrorono; P: ch mostrano (sic).
1. 25. M: nornordeste; P: nornodeste.
P omits: el.
1. 28. M: 28; H: xxviii; P: 18.
1. 30. P: faceua; M: faceuono.
1. 31. omits: tutte, before laltre.
1. 33. P: pagha; M. porga.
M omits: la, before superbia.
1. 34. M: quel che; P: quello.

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1. 4. P omits: che.
1. 5. M: Dio sia contento; P: Dio siaoncli (sic).
1. 8. M: notabili; P: naturali.
1. 12. P omits; uostra.
1. 13. M: inalzi; P: salzi.
1. 14. P: 4: M: x.



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